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A HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF NEWARK
NEW JERSEY



EMBRACING PRACTICALLY
TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES
1666-1913

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I.

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Foreword

IN the writing of this history the aim has been to give in simple narrative all facts, both great and seemingly small, that tend to show how the Newark of the present day has been built up, generation by generation.

Anything and everything that seemed to add life, light and color to the story, that was to be found and was authentic, has been made use of. A sincere effort has been made, also, to make the history attractive and interesting to those who, although they may care little for the reading of history, may wish to become familiar with the making of their own city from the day of its foundation as a hamlet, to the present. At the same time, the student of history has not been altogether forgotten, and a guide to further study is offered in constant reference to the authorities quoted, with information as to where and how other material may be obtained.

An excellent index has been supplied, being the work of Mr. William B. Morningstern of the staff of the Newark Free Public Library. The index is far more complete than those usually supplied in works of this character. The history is thus made readily accessible to students, and the pupils of Newark's schools, and all others who may feel drawn to gather the facts about one phase or another of Newark's history.

Much information is also given in the nine appendices. In the Chronological List of leading events in the city's history (Appendix A) is given a mass of information, much of which is not to be found in the main work, and is presented in the table for ready reference.

Liberal use has been made of the early newspapers, from which has been drawn a store of reliable information as it was set down almost at the very moment of the happenings. This will be found especially true in the chapters devoted to the War for Independence and in those that tell of the coming of Newark's industries immediately after that war.

A bibliography of the works consulted during the writing of

this history is not given here, but the authorities quoted are credited in the annotations or in the text itself. The New Jersey Archives, especially those given over to the early newspapers, have proven of the highest value, and are herewith urgently recommended to educators as a most valuable source of information for their pupils. Other works to which this history is especially indebted are: Gordon's History of New Jersey, Gordon's Gazetteer of New Jersey, Barber and Howe's Historical Collections of New Jersey, Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, and Joseph Atkinson's History of Newark.

The work would not have been possible without the New Jersey Historical Society Library, the Free Public Library, and the New York Historical Society. For the courtesies extended by these libraries the writer hereby returns his thanks. The material in these institutions has been made use of more or less constantly during the entire year and a half in which this history has been in preparation.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of the kindly and valuable assistance of Miss Maud E. Johnson, of the New Jersey Historical Society. Her thorough knowledge of the resources of the library as bearing upon the subject in hand has greatly facilitated the preparation of this work. Expression of the writer's indebtedness is also made to: Mr. Theodore Umbscheiden, of the Newark Municipal Library; Mr. William Nelson, of Paterson, New Jersey's foremost living historian; Mr. Henry B. Kummel, New Jersey State Geologist; Mr. Clarence E. Tobin, at one time secretary of the Newark City Hall Commission; Mr. Edward S. Rankin, engineer in charge of the Department of Sewers and Drainage of the Board of Street and Water Commissioners; Mr. James O. Smith, a veteran of the Thirteenth New Jersey Volunteer Infantry; Mr. Frank Bergen, general counsel for the Public Service Corporation; Mr. G. Wisner Thorne, Mr. Forrest B. Spaulding, Mr. William S. Hunt, Mr. Daniel E. Hervey, and to many others who have willingly responded to requests for information.

FRANK JOHN URQUHART.

September 24, 1913.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

The publishers desire to express their admiration of the excellent work accomplished by the various writers: Mr. Frank J. Urquhart, author of the historical narrative proper; Mr. James M. Reilly, of commercial and manufacturing development; Mr. W. M. Van Deusen, of the chapter on financial institutions; Dr. William S. Disbrow, of the article on medicine; Rev. Joseph F. Folsom, on church history; and Mr. William von Katsler, on the German element in the city of Newark. All are exhaustive, and the entire work will doubtless find recognition as a first authority on the subjects upon which it treats.

The biographical department has been prepared by our regular staff writers, and all possible pains have been taken to make it entirely reliable.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CHAPTER I.
PREHISTORIC NEWARK

CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC NEWARK.

IT required millions of years to prepare the territory we now call Newark for the habitation of modern man, and while this fact is quite as true of most other portions of the earth, the processes by which this region was made ready have striking characteristics of their own. The name "Newark group," for instance, is a term given by science upward of half a century ago to a certain kind of rock formation found in some other sections of the country, but nowhere more clearly and typically defined than here.

This rock was made in the third grand division of time since the very beginning of things, the Mesozoic, in the later Triassic and earlier Jurassic periods of that division. It was also the age of reptiles. This Newark stone is of three principal kinds: Trap rock, which in Mesozoic time was vomitted forth through fissures from beneath the slowly stiffening crust of the earth as lava, and to be seen in the remarkable formations on the Orange Mountains and elsewhere; shale, which was at the same period mud; and sandstone, which was originally sand. The "Newark group," as State Geologist Henry B. Kummel has described it for this publication, consists of a great thickness of alternating red shale and sandstone with intercolated sheets of trap rock, which latter represent flows of lava from fissures during the deposition of muds and sands which now constitute the shales and sandstones. These rocks extend from the Hudson river, near Haverstraw, southward through New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland into Virginia. Other detached areas lie in Nova Scotia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Virginia and North Carolina.

"Ripple marks, mud cracks, raindrop impressions and foot-prints of reptiles at various horizons indicate that these beds of shale and standstone were deposited by shallow waters, perhaps by broad shallow streams flowing across a wide plain bordering a lofty

mountain range. Lakes of little depth or brackish water lagoons communicating with the ocean probably occurred here and there upon the plain."

It was upon this foundation then, fashioned during aeons of time, that the surface was to be built up through more ages, largely during the wonderful glacial epoch and by means of the many changes in level of the surface and the variations in temperatures from Arctic to tropical.

The glaciers, as is well known, brought down vast quantities of stone, earth, gravel and sand, the latter being ground from the rocks as they were forced against each other by the tremendous pressure of the ice around them. Much of this material was carried from points two and even three hundred miles to the northward. The whole glacial mass in New Jersey was from one-eighth to one-fifth of a mile deep.

The ice field, mighty sculptor that it was, wrought marvelous changes in its passage. It hewed and hacked, ploughed and gashed, tore and twisted, broke down and built up, until the whole surface of the earth was made over. It was rough treatment, but to it we owe the natural beauties of upper New Jersey today.

LAYING THE STATE'S FOUNDATIONS.

The rude work of this ice giant was ended when the glacier's edge reached Belvidere on the western boundary of the State, and Perth Amboy on the eastern border. Milder temperature forced it to release its grip; it began to melt. The invading ice field had almost reached the sea, for at that time more than one-third of New Jersey was under water. If you draw a line from Long Branch to Salem on the map, you will come close to describing the coast line as it was then.

As the gentle winds from the south softened the chilly breath of the ice field, great floods of water surged seaward. The chips and dust which this titanic sculptor of the land had made in passing and which it had long held tight, now dropped down. These counties were gradually freed from the ice: Sussex, Passaic, Bergen, Morris,

Essex, Hudson, Union and the upper halves of Warren and Somerset. All this district was given a new covering many feet deep of the soil and rock the ice field left, while great masses were washed down upon the rest of the State that was above the sea, and which we can describe as follows: The lower halves of Warren and Somerset counties; very nearly all of Hunterdon, Middlesex, Mercer and Monmouth; the upper thirds of Burlington and Camden, and small sections of two counties which were still beneath the sea, Gloucester and Salem. Ocean, Atlantic, Cumberland and Cape May counties were as yet a waste of waters. Presently, however, other gigantic forces within the earth came to the aid of those at work on the surface, and the submerged area appeared, the rivers and floods helping the uprising by bringing down great quantities of glacial drift and spreading it in every direction. The depth of the drift left in the vicinity of Newark varies exceedingly. "In the southern and eastern parts of the city," says Mr. Kummel, "in the meadows or in regions which were meadows before they were reclaimed, borings go 100 to 200 and 250 feet before reaching bed rock. In the western part of the city, however, where the land is higher, the rock is much nearer the surface. Common depths of the drift are 10, 15 and 20 feet." In every section of the city where cellars or trenches are being dug or other excavations made, one may see this glacial drift, beneath such soil as has been deposited over it by the natural process of erosion, gathered during the ages that have elapsed since the glaciers spent themselves.

THE PASSAIC AND WEEQUAHIC.

The Passaic river, as well as the Delaware, had flowed seaward for centuries before the glacial epoch and the ice fields played quite as marvelous pranks with the waterways as with the land. The story of the ancient Passaic, as science has laid it before us, is briefly as follows: When the ice first came it stopped up the river above Paterson, near Little Falls, and for ages there was no river from that point down the present and former course. For a long time before the ice period this river had had two outlets to the sea,

the one we now know, and the other through a gap in the Second Mountain, at Short Hills. After the ice, in its slow march southward, closed up the outlet at Little Falls, it dammed the gap at Short Hills. Then the upper Passaic Valley was drained only through an opening in the hills at Moggy Hollow, which is about eight miles north of Somerville. When the ice stopped the flow toward Paterson Falls, the drainage of the section of the upper valley still free from ice, accumulated in a lake, immediately in front of the advancing glacial mass. Thus the prehistoric Lake Passaic was formed. The lake was, so to speak, pushed ahead of the ice, and when the glacier had covered the whole valley, the lake was temporarily obliterated. When the ice began to melt, or as the scientists say, recede, the lake appeared again. It was at its maximum area just before the ice disappeared from the channel near Little Falls, for the Short Hills outlet was now permanently filled with the glacial drift and that at Moggy Hollow was too inconsiderable to carry off the waters to any appreciable degree. At this time the lake was about twenty miles long, from Little Falls to Moggy Hollow, and approximately nine miles wide, from Summit to the Morristown region.

Geologists have learned enough to know that the Passaic river which flowed through the Short Hills as described above, was a large and powerful stream. That it flowed through a comparatively wide and deep valley would also seem to have been proved. Did it flow through Newark? Its upper bank was certainly very close to the southern boundary of the present city. It reached the sea somewhere between Elizabeth and Newark, possibly at Waverly. It may be that little Weequahic creek, from which the present park derives its name, and which is largely responsible for the present lake there, is the venerable and mightily-reduced relic of the ancient river.

It was but an accident of Nature that the glacial drift did not permanently close the channel at Little Falls and not that at Short Hills. Had it happened this way, the Passaic would now be flowing along Newark's southern instead of its eastern border. What more

striking and instructive manifestation of the changes worked out in those dim days of the earth's making-over could be found?

Thus, by majestic stages, through spaces of time of so great duration that the mind can not comprehend their extent, was the Newark ground made ready for the final touches that were to render it habitable for the Indians, the immediate predecessors of the men who founded the city.

We know there was animal life on the site of Newark before and during portions of the glacial era. But prehistoric man, the primeval human, was he here? The Eskimo, some authorities believe, followed the glacial movement southward and retired when the great ice fields began to succumb to a warmer climate.

THEORIES AS TO PREHISTORIC MAN.

Traces of prehistoric man in divers sections of the earth are often found below the glacial deposit or drift, in rude implements which were not accidents of nature but must have been fashioned by human hands. Fragments of bone believed to be those of the mammoth, the musk-ox and the reindeer, have been found in the Delaware Valley, below the so-called Trenton gravels.¹ Science still hesitates to admit that these relics prove the existence of prehistoric man along the Delaware; in fact there have been animated controversies on this point during the last two decades or so. It may remain for the proof to be brought out in this section of the State, possibly somewhere in the Passaic Valley.

In recent years, we may say since the opening of the Twentieth century, a more general interest in the science of anthropology, archaeology and kindred branches has arisen. In our own State more determined and intelligent efforts than ever before are on

¹ See Dr. C. C. Abbott's "Archaeologica Nova Caesarea."

"At the termination of the Newark mountain, at Springfield, and in many of the trap ranges, smoke and in some instances flame, issuing from the crevices of the rock, have been observed by the inhabitants; proceeding probably from carbonated hydrogen gas, indicating coal below. Animal and vegetable remains have been observed in this freestone. Near Bellville, a tooth, almost two inches in length, was discovered some years since, fifteen feet below the surface." Gordon's Gazetteer of New Jersey, 1834.

foot to pry into the secrets of the State's very early past. The legislature of 1912 set aside a small sum to be devoted to archaeological research under the direction of the State Geological Survey, with a view of locating the Indian villages of former times and to gather together all the relics of the savages that are to be found. If this search is continued it is possible that traces of prehistoric man may also be found. They may lie along the ancient pathways of the Passaic (on any one or all three of them), as well as along the Delaware, and in other sections of Essex county.*

* Information in detail concerning the Geology of the Essex County region will be found in several of the publications of the New Jersey Geological Survey, one of the most efficient bureaus in the State.

CHAPTER II.
THE INDIANS AND THE DUTCH

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A HISTORY of Newark would be sadly incomplete without some account of the red man who, for unnumbered centuries before Columbus found the continent, abode on this soil and knew it for his own. He was the ancient owner, the first, unless prehistoric man had his brute-like existence hereabouts. The men who founded Newark received the territory direct from the Indian, causing him to retire gradually to more and more distant points with constantly reducing numbers until the savage was lost in oblivion. The story of his going hence is much the same as everywhere in the early settlement of the country, with this striking and altogether pleasing difference; while elsewhere the ground was often wrested from him by force and by trickery, here, in Newark, as throughout all New Jersey, the Indian was paid the price he asked for every foot of the land.

There was no Indian village of any considerable size on Newark soil, at least not for several generations before the settlement. It was part of the domain of the Awkinges-awky, Ackinken-hackys or Hackensacks, a sub-tribe of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. The Hackensacks' headquarters were near the site of the present city of Hackensack, and the tribal boundaries were, roughly, Weequahic creek (the original boundary line afterwards fixed by the settlers between Newark and Elizabethtown) on the south; the Ramapo mountains on the north and west, with the Hudson and a part of Staten Island completing the confines. Below the Hackensacks were the Raritans and above them the Tappans. The whole State was dotted with tribal centres, like that near Hackensack, from which small groups composed of a few families moved hither and thither over the region set aside to their tribe, hunting, fishing, raising occasional crops of maize, corn, etc.

OLD INDIAN HIGHWAYS.

When the Dutch trappers and traders, the first white men to really explore the region, fared out from New Amsterdam, and from the little settlement at Bergen, a decade or so after Hudson discovered the great river that bears his name, they found the country we now call New Jersey peopled with perhaps fifteen hundred Indians, living peacefully, each division and sub-division in its own section under a loose government which served well for all purposes of the aborigines. They welcomed the Dutchmen, piloted them up and down the streams, bartered their furs, showed them the way through the wilderness along the myriad paths which the feet of many generations of their people had worn deep, along the waterways through clefts in the hills, around all natural barriers, over meadows and beside marshes and in and out of forests that to the stranger seemed at first quite impenetrable. They taught them many things in woodcraft, and they showed them the mysteries of their crude methods of farming.

The greatest Indian pathway in all New Jersey was undoubtedly the Minisink path, leading from the sea to the headquarters of the Minsis, on Minisink Island high up in the Delaware. This path ran from the Shrewsbury river, northwest, crossing the Raritan a little west of Perth Amboy; proceeding north to and through the Short Hills and then to the Passaic, which it crossed where the oldest portion of Chatham, Morris county, now is, at a ford where Day's Bridge was built, in 1747. From this ford the old path ran a distance of about twelve miles to Little Falls, being seldom more than six or eight miles west of the Watchung (First) Mountain, from the Short Hills to Little Falls. There was another crossing there, from whence the path ran along the eastern side of the valley to Pompton; thence following the Pequannock towards the Delaware river.

"The Newark mountain region," writes Wickes in his history of the Oranges, "was constantly crossed and recrossed by the Indians, going to and from the Hudson, by paths, all of which intersected the great Minisink highway. Their nearest or most direct

route from the Hudson to Minisink Island was through the Great Notch of the First Mountain, four miles above Montclair, meeting the main path near Little Falls. The other intersecting paths were: At Montclair where the highway (Bloomfield avenue) crossed the mountain; the notch at Eagle Rock; the notches of the Mt. Pleasant and the Northfield highways, and the mountain-crossing at South Orange (South Orange avenue, where it enters the South Mountain reservation). All these routes led to the Minisink path. They all crossed this great thoroughfare and were the highways of Indian travel from the Hudson through the Musconetcong Valley to the Delaware."

The Dutch traders found to their surprise that the Hackensacks as well as all other savages had a name for every path, stream, creek and mountain range, as well as for every other object in nature which could serve as a guide or landmark to the traveler. If he took these names in the regular sequence as the red man gave them to him, remembering the meaning of each as the savage had imparted it, the trader could make his way for long distances, recognizing each point as he came to it by the Indian place names. It was thus for many generations that the natives taught each other how to thread their way up and down and across New Jersey. These place names answered every purpose of the time quite as perfectly as guide books, auto-tour books, road maps, etc., do the present-day denizens of the country. The Dutch officials employed the Indian runners to carry dispatches between their settlements on the Hudson and the Delaware. The trip one way was made in something less than five days.

THE RED MAN ON THE COAST.

The red man had his "season" on the Jersey coast. For at least a thousand years before the watering places that now dot its beaches were thought of, each tribe had its seashore territories. The hill tribes came down from the uplands, sometimes by waterway entirely and sometimes by the paths. The earliest navigators speak in their log books of the swarms of savages noticed on the Jersey coast.

The making of wampum was carried extensively during those summer sojourns, as vast heaps of fragments of clam and oyster shells and of other shellfish, to be found a few feet below the surface near the coast, testify. The shellfish were dried, salted or smoked, spread on sheets of bark and packed away in bales or strung on strings to be carried back to the uplands in the fall for use during the winter. The larger fish were treated in much the same fashion. While the women were busy curing the fish, the men worked at wampum making among the shells. They removed the mollusks from the shells with clever little tools made out of jasper, the aboriginal oyster knives.

With implements of stone, deftly fashioned, they chipped the shells into little discs, varying in diameter according to the character of the wampum, often working them down to the size of a bead. They perforated each disc or bead by means of a sharp, pencil-like stone which they skillfully rotated between the hands, using sand and water occasionally to increase the friction. They polished the edges of the discs and the surfaces of the beads by rubbing upon stone sprinkled with sand, until they acquired a fine polish. They tested each bead for smoothness by contact with the nose. The white wampum was reckoned as the least valuable. The black wampum, so-called, which was made from blueish or purplish and all other dark colored shells, was the most desired.

It is well-nigh certain that the Indians did not use wampum as money until the arrival of the white man. There is no record of its having been considered as currency by the Lenni Lenape, at least. Everything they had they held in common. When they had food, all were filled. They literally had no need for money. It was a sort of primitive socialism. Wampum was used for bodily ornament, for the conveying of messages of war, of peace, condolence; for the binding of agreements of every sort; as an aid to memory and in numberless other ways which are now lost to us. Manifold meanings were worked into wampum by the peculiar arrangement of colors and by means of various well recognized designs and patterns. In every tribe and sub-tribe, there was always someone

skilled in the minute reading of wampum, and the general significance of a belt or string or collections of strings was known to all adults.

The Dutch traders found the Hackensacks highly skillful at wampum making, and the former were not slow to commercialize it, giving it in barter for furs, foodstuffs, herbs, etc. Later the white folk took to making wampum which they sold to traders. This was done in Bergen county within the last century, as late as 1845.

The Lenni Lenape were among the most facile in the fashioning of stone implements. They tooled with infinite care their arrow and spearheads, their chisels, hunting knives, flesh scrapers, fish-line sinkers, fish spears, mortars for the grinding of corn, and a multitude of other articles whose uses baffle scientists to determine. Skill in manufacturing industries has therefore been common to the Newark neighborhood for many centuries.

INDIAN TRADITIONS AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS.

The old Dutch pioneers learned many other things about the Indians of New Jersey from their intercourse with them. To this knowledge was added more gleaned in much the same way by the English when they took possession in 1664. A few missionaries contributed their quota, as did the reports and other records of the early governors and their subordinates. Out of this material we gather all there is to be known now of the original possessors of the territory. It is by no means as complete as one might desire. There are many gaps that can never be closed, and there is here and there a lack of accuracy made manifest by the contradictory statements found in the various sources.

The Lenni Lenape were a branch of the great Algonkin nation. Long before the coming of the white man they had been beaten in battle by the fierce Iroquois to the north, and from that time bore the name of "women" among the Iroquois and other warlike peoples. In compensation for that epithet, given in derision, they came to be known as wise and safe in counsel, and were often

appealed to by other nations to settle disputes. They showed their wisdom in keeping out of wars, and although they had been conquered by the Iroquois, they considered themselves superior to their conquerors because they felt they possessed higher intelligence.

The Lenni Lenape held sway, at one time or another, over a large part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and a portion of New York. They were divided into three branches, the Minsis or Mountaineers, or wolves; the Unamis, or tortoises; the Unalachtigoes, or turkeys. The Hackensacks seem to have been a sub-tribe of the Unamis, with the Minsis above and the Unlachtigoes below them. To the traders and trappers the Lenni Lenape gave various interpretations of their family name: "our men," "Indian men," "the original or pure Indian." To be a Lenni Lenape was to have sprung from a very ancient race of red men, whose blood was unpolluted by that of other nations. To be of the tribe of Unamis was to have been borne of the most ancient of all the Lenni Lenape; for, as the old Hackensack chieftains explained, it was the tortoise who bore the earth on his back and who created all things upon the earth that were good for man; and the totem of the Unamis was the tortoise. Thus the child of the forest babbled of his history, a tale in which myth and fact are inextricably intermingled. If we are to believe him, the Indians who once called the soil of Newark their own were sprung from the oldest of the three great divisions of the Lenni Lenape, and the Lenni Lenape were descended from the very earliest of Indians.

The Lenni Lenape were powerfully built, usually of about the average height of the white men, with dark eyes, glistening white teeth, coarse black hair. Few were crippled, deformed, cross-eyed or blind. "They preserved their skins," wrote Charles Wolley in 1701, "by anointing them with the oil of fishes, the fat of eagles and the grease of raccoons, which they hold in the summer to be the best antidote to keep their skins from blistering by the scorching sun, and their best armour against the musketto's * * * * and stopper of the pores of their bodies against the winter's cold."

So we learn that the mosquito has been in the land for ages before our time and in fighting the pest we are simply continuing an ancient warfare. They seldom used what is known as wigwams. It is believed, however, that there were a few large structures called community houses, in which a considerable number of natives might assemble. It is quite probable that there was a community house in the old Indian village of Hackensack. But in the main, their houses were mere huts. This is the way William Penn described the habitations of the Lenni Lenape, in 1683:

"They bent down the boughs of saplings and interlaced them, covering this framework with bark quite thick enough to provide a warm shelter. Sometimes they made wattled huts, circular or cylindrical in form, thatched and with an inner wall of mats woven from long reed grass or from sweet flag stalks. Their bedding was the skins of wild animals, usually the garments they wore when abroad."

JERSEY INDIANS' CHARACTERISTICS—THE LENNI LENAPE RELIGION.

They were gentle, and received strangers with the most gracious hospitality. Samuel Smith, New Jersey's first historian, wrote of them in 1765: "None could excel them in liberality with the little they had, for nothing was too good for a friend."

But they kept strict watch over their tribal boundaries, as a rule. A Hackensack, for instance, could fish and hunt in Newark territory and none other. Other tribes of the Lenni Lenape and those of other peaceful nations had full right to traverse the Indian highways and to enjoy temporarily the privileges of the region, but they could not tarry long nor take the fish nor the game nor the fruits of the fields and the wildwood. It is pretty certain also, that no one family remained for any great length of time at any one spot, so Newark cannot be said to have belonged to any one man or small group of red men, since it was "possessed" only by the tribe; and as we shall see later, was disposed of to the settlers by the tribe, a few acting as the tribal representatives and who probably were the last natives to have residence here.

The Lenni Lenape had a sincere belief in a Supreme Being, differing but little in its elements from that of the other savages throughout this section of the country. They had no comprehension of a life to come such as the Christian religion teaches. The missionaries found it most difficult to get them to grasp the tenets of the faith they sought to teach them.

They were not at all inclined to admit that the whites were superior to them. They said they could tell from simply looking at the strangers from across the ocean that they were not an "original people" like themselves, who had come down from the beginning of time without contamination by an intermingling with races other than their own. The white men, said the Lenni Lenape, were clearly the result of the commingling of various bloods, which meant that they were bound to be troublesome. The Great Spirit had found it necessary to give the whites a Big Book (Bible) and to teach them to read it, so that they might know how to do as he wanted them to do, and how to leave undone the things he did not want them to do. As for the Lenni Lenape, they did not need such a book from the Great Spirit, since they knew his wishes out of their hearts.

"As they care nothing for the spiritual," wrote a Dutch observer, speaking of the period of 1621-1632, "they direct their study principally to the physical, closely studying the seasons. The women there are the most experienced star gazers; there is scarcely one of them but names all the stars [planets?]; their rising and setting. But Him who dwells above they know not."

They had ceremonies galore, by means of which they sought to placate the Evil One, and they had solemn festivals at various seasons of the year. There was the feast of the first fruits of the harvest, the feast after a period of good hunting, celebrations at weddings and at funerals. It is believed that many of these were held in the groves along the Yantakah, Yantacaw, or Third River, as we know it. They are said to have used a kind of incense, made by pouring water upon burning tobacco.

There are two interpretations of the name Yantakah or Yantacaw. By some authorities the word is understood to have signified to the Lenni Lenape, "extending to the tidal river," which faithfully describes the stream as it flows into the Passaic. Others are inclined to believe that Yantakah is a crude combination of the native words for the ceremonial dances, the Kante Kaey, which they celebrated on the banks of the stream.

Few of the Indian place names for the Newark region have been preserved to us, most unfortunately. Students of the Lenni Lenape tongue do not explain the meaning of Passaic, to the satisfaction of modern minds. "Where it divides" is a strict translation. This may describe the split or chasm at Paterson Falls. Weequahic, the little creek which for ages has served as a boundary line, first separating the domains of the Hackensacks and the Raritans, and afterwards as the place of division between Newark and Elizabethtown, and which now gives its name to a county park, means simply "the end or head of a creek or run."

MARRIAGE—TRAINING OF THE BOYS—MEDICINE MEN.

Marriage, while it was always gone through with much ceremony, was apparently not binding, upon the men. They left the women for others when it suited them to do so, the wife taking the children. The only formidable thing about marriage among the Lenni Lenape was the name they gave it, "witach-punge-wiwuladt-poagan." They were very careful, however, not to permit the marriage of members of the same tribe. The men paid but little attention to their girl-children; they were kept about the mother and learned her simple but severe tasks of planting and hoeing the corn and beans, preparing the food and bearing heavy burdens when the family was on the move. But the boys were trained in the craft of the father with considerable care. They were early taught the use of the bow and arrow, how to attach the fish hook to the line, then how to fish; next they learned to spear fish and afterward were shown how to trap game and to catch fish in the streams by means of brush or bush nets. The

use of the canoe came when the boy was well grown, and the handling of the stone hatchet in all its forms seems to have been reckoned as one of the more difficult accomplishments.

The Lenni Lenape had many good medicine men among them, who did much more than strive to exorcise evil spirits from the ill by weird dances and fantastic ceremonial. Sickness could not always be driven out by horse play and shouting, and one of the cure-alls was to give the patient a steam bath and then plunge him in the river. Twelve stones were heated to very high temperature, whereupon these were rolled into a small hut, usually constructed of bark and often lined with clay or mud. The patient squatted inside the hut near the stones, when water was poured upon the latter, the pouring being continued until the spluttering and sissing ceased. Then followed the cold plunge, which no doubt was the death of nearly as many as were cured, since this treatment was applied for about every ill the red man was heir to.

THE INDIANS AND "FIRE WATER"—INHUMANITY OF THE DUTCH.

The settlers need have had no serious trouble with the Lenni Lenape. Indeed, the English had no wars with them in this State. But there were bloody struggles between the Dutch and the red men, including our own Hackensacks, which could easily have been avoided had the whites given the savages considerate treatment. A Scotch settler at Perth Amboy, the homeland of the Raritans, who were next door neighbors of the Hackensacks, writing near the close of the seventeenth century says: "And for the Indian natives, they are not troublesome to any of us, if we do them no harm, but are a very kind and loving people; the men do nothing but hunt, and the women they plant corn and work at home."

There would have been much less bloodshed during the dominion of the Dutch, had it not been for the white man's "fire-water," the same depressing story written through and through the records of the early colonization of this country. The Lenni Lenape had no word in their language for drunkenness. When they were thirsty they drank water, or the broth from their boiled meat.

From the first appearance of the Dutch traders on Manhattan, the chiefs of the Hackensacks, the Navesinks on Staten Island, the Mohegans, the Raritans, the Tappans and other neighboring tribes on the western side of the Hudson, besought the newcomers not to sell their people rum. They quickly saw its baleful effects, and Oraton or Oratamy, the grand old sachem of the Hackensacks, was especially urgent and active in this first temperance crusade in New Jersey. From the all too scant record we have of his doings there is enough to stamp him as a remarkable character, straightforward and just in his dealings; possessed of a spirit of kindness far beyond that of many of the white men with whom he had dealing. In "fire-water" he clearly saw the undoing of his people. On several occasions he visited the log houses of the Dutch on Manhattan and pleaded to have the selling or giving of liquor to the Hackensacks stopped.

Serious trouble did not come in East Jersey until 1640, when the Dutch colonists angered the Raritans. The natives were accused, although it is now believed without just foundation, of many thieveries, and the white men sent a punitive expedition to the Raritan region. A year later the Indians retaliated by descending upon the scattered homes upon Staten Island, and destroyed the settlers with the fury and cruelty characteristic of the aborigines when the battle rage was on.

The Indians had now begun to lose confidence in the Dutch. The breach had been widened by the foolish policy of exacting tribute of maize, wampum and furs. This the red men resented; they saw no reason why they should play the part of slaves. The Dutch farmers were continually letting their cattle stray away and the Indians, now sulky, occasionally killed the cattle and horses. Neither understood the other, and the Dutch were exceedingly slow in getting to know the peculiarities of the native character.

The Dutch, or their rulers in Manhattan, resolved on war. At this time, the Hackensacks and neighboring tribes of the Lenni Lenape were in terror because of the incursions of the Iroquois, Mohawks and others of their copper-skinned enemies from the

north. The Lenni Lenape in desperation appealed to the "Swannekins," as they called the Dutch, and gathered for protection where the Pavonia section of Jersey City now is. It was while they were encamped there to the number of several hundred, relying upon the Dutch promise of protection, that William Kieft, director-general of New Netherland, resolved to mete out swift punishment upon them.

THE PAVONIA MASSACRE.

Eighty soldiers were sent across the river from Manhattan in the darkness of a February night in 1643. They fell upon the unsuspecting natives as they slept. Their barbarities are well nigh indescribable. They murdered men, women and children alike. They tore the babies from the breasts of their mothers and threw them into the water, and when parents rushed in to save their offspring, forced them to drown together. They butchered infants as they lay pinioned to the boards used as rude cradles; and their wanton lust for killing was not satisfied until there was none of the savages living of those who had been unable to flee under cover of darkness. The dead numbered over eighty.

The war raged up and down the west bank of the Hudson. All the Lenni Lenape in what is now upper New Jersey put on their war paint, upwards of eleven tribes taking the field. They laid waste every settler's home, until the region was rid of the white folk as completely as before their first appearance. Peace was declared in the spring of 1643, but it did not last long as the natives now mistrusted every move of the white man. It is not at all probable that the fighting extended as far inland as the district on which Newark now stands, and the vague tales of a battle around a huge rock in what is now the Eagle Rock reservation, are scarcely to be credited. The Dutch were careful to keep near their base of supplies, Manhattan—once they came to realize what a terrible foe the red man could be when aroused. The war was not even carried as far as the Indian village at Hackensack, although the braves of the whole tribe took active part in it. In the fighting after the flimsy treaty of peace of 1643, fully seven of the tribes, chiefly of the Lenni Lenape, were enrolled.

The Indians had become more crafty by this time; they exposed themselves very little, stealing up on the farmhouses and "bouweries" and firing the thatched roofs with flaming arrows or by hurling brands. Unlike the Dutch, they usually spared the women and children, taking them into captivity. Time and again they showed themselves more humane than their misguided antagonists. We know this from accounts of the sanguinary proceedings left by Dutchmen who were not in sympathy with the high-handed methods pursued by Kieft. Actual peace was at last declared, and one of the signers of the treaty was Oritaney, or Oraton, chief of the Hackensacks.

THE LAST STAND OF THE LENNI LENAPE.

The second and last war in which the Hackensacks had any part broke out twelve years later, in 1655, and was the more terrible of the two. There were petty encounters during the long interval, which served to keep the Hackensacks and their neighbors more or less restive, and which really prepared the way for the last desperate struggle.

Hostilities came when a Dutchman who had an orchard on the hillside in what is now Hoboken, from which the Indians had pilfered considerable fruit, resolved to put a stop to the annoyance. He lay in wait for the offenders one dark night. When he saw someone approaching the orchard he fired, and killed an Indian girl. The savages at once lit their beacon fires and swarmed to the west side of the Hudson. They filled sixty-four canoes and went in pursuit of the unlucky Dutch fruit grower, who had fled to New Amsterdam. They searched that village until they found him, killing the Dutchman who had taken him in, and wounding the cause of the trouble in the breast with one of their arrows.

By this time the men of New Amsterdam had begun to assemble, and the red men ran to their canoes and put back to Hoboken. Soon the whole series of little settlements, from Weehawken to Staten Island, were in flames. Every house was burned. One hundred whites were killed, one hundred and fifty taken captives,

and over three hundred more made homeless. In this war the Hackensacks and their allies seem to have been less humane than in the first. They fought with demoniac fury, as if they knew this was to be their last stand in this region against the white men. Peace was not made secure for several months, when the Indians demanded a ransom for the captives, which the Dutch paid. In one case the price was seventy-eight pounds of gunpowder and forty staves of lead, for a group of twenty-eight captives.

THE PASSING OF THE JERSEY INDIANS.

War, rum, and disease, much of the latter caused by excesses springing from indulgence in rum, had greatly reduced the number of the natives. It is believed also that many of them had before the last war made their flight westward to get away from the white man. In 1758 a counsel was called by Governor Bernard, of New Jersey, which resulted in the extinguishment by the Colonial government of all claims of the Lenni Lenape to lands in New Jersey, with the exception of the right to hunt and fish in all unenclosed lands. The Indians were, furthermore, provided with a reservation—the first in the whole United States—in Burlington county, on the Delaware. Three thousand acres were set aside for their exclusive use, largely through the exertions of the Rev. John Brainerd, whose brother David, had previously worked as a missionary, chiefly among the Susquehannas, and who had virtually given up his life for them, dying of consumption resulting from hardship and exposure. They called the place Brotherton.

The last of the Lenni Lenape in New Jersey remained quietly in their reservation until 1802, taking no part as a race in the stirring events of the War for Independence, although a few of their young men, who had become at least partly civilized, fought in Washington's army. The remnant of the original owners of the Jersey soil removed to a reservation near Oneida Lake, New York, in 1802, joining forces with another Indian race with whom their fathers had been friendly for generations. A few years later they were all transported to Fox River, Wisconsin, naming their new

village Statesburg. In 1832 but forty of them were left, and about that time they sent one of their own men, a graduate of Princeton, to ask the Legislature to buy their ancient hunting and fishing rights which had not been cancelled. This was promptly done, the price paid being about \$3,000.

This ended all formal connection between the State of New Jersey and the Indians. It is possible that if diligent search were made throughout the Indian reservations of the country a very few might be found who can lay fair claim to having Lenni Lenape blood in their veins.

The last one of the race in this State, of whom there is any think like an authentic record, was an old woman, called "Indian Ann," who died in Burlington county about 1890. She claimed to be the daughter of a man, who, at the time of the removal of the Lenni Lenape to New York State, refused to go. There was but a small handful of the race in this section of New Jersey when Newark was founded, probably not more than five hundred. None of the Lenni Lenape had serious trouble with the English, from the time of their arrival, in 1664. Certain it is that the Hackensacks lived in amity with the settlers of Newark until the last little band of them went trailing sorrowfully away across the State to the reservation in Brotherton.¹

The last surviving remnants of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians are now (1913) in Canada and in Oklahoma. A wealth of interesting material upon the New Jersey Indians is contained in "A Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Survey of the State of New Jersey, made by the Department of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History," issued by the State Geological Survey, in May, 1913. The Archaeological Survey was created in 1912 by an act of the Legislature, and the report just referred to covers the first year's work of this new bureau. Nearly a thousand sites, camps, burial grounds and rock shelters have already been located. The Survey has not as yet (1913) made any investigations in Essex county.

¹ The principal sources drawn upon for the material in this chapter are Nelson's "New Jersey Indians" and Dr. C. C. Abbott's "Primitive Industry."

CHAPTER III.

PURITAN UNREST—THE ENGLISH AND NEW JERSEY.

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THE first white men to look upon the country we now call Newark are believed to have been a small boat's crew sent out by Henry Hudson at the time of his discovery of the river that bears his name, in September, 1609. John Coleman, in charge of the boat, left the Half Moon with orders to explore the region back of the Great River. He found his way into what is now Newark Bay, proceeded far enough to make sure that the Passaic did not lead to the Northwest Passage his chief was fruitlessly seeking, and started back. This first glimpse of the region was costly, for the white men became embroiled with the Indians who attacked them in canoes, and Coleman was shot dead by an arrow, which pierced his throat. The crew reported it had observed an "open sea," Newark Bay, after penetrating two leagues; and the following, taken from the Half Moon's log, is believed to refer to the country round about it as "pleasent with Grasse and Flowers and goodly Trees as any they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them." Somewhere in the sands of Jersey the bones of Coleman have crumbled away. If only the spot could have been found and its location preserved!

More than half a hundred years were to march by before settlement was to be made in the Newark region. The Dutch, partly because of their troubles with the Indians, did not attempt to make homes here. A few sturdy souls are thought to have set up their homes here and there along the upper Passaic and Hackensack rivers. They called this whole neighborhood Achter Col, or Kol, meaning "back of the Bay," thus describing its location with reference to the upper harbor of New Amsterdam. They were slow and unprogressive, contenting themselves with drawing on the region for its fur-bearing animals and such wild products as could be gathered without much labor.

The English settlers on Long Island and in lower New England had their eyes on the Newark region for a quarter of a century before the actual settlement. As early as 1643 negotiations with a view to the establishment of a town thereabouts were entered into with the Dutch at New Amsterdam by a small group, believed to have been Long Island English, who were chafing under the heavy conditions the Dutch imposed upon them there. Nothing came of this proposition. These people had no doubt explored the "Achter Col" country on their own account and had grasped its great possibilities as a permanent abiding place. As their towns on Long Island were offshoots of New England they no doubt told their Puritan brethren on the Connecticut mainland of the attractiveness of the land west of the Hudson and on the shores of a large inner bay where none abode but savages.

PURITANS LOOK TOWARD NEWARK REGION.

The Puritan pioneers on Long Island were for the most part bands of the most uncompromising and conservative Puritans, less liberal than the Pilgrim Fathers of the Plymouth Colony and more closely allied with the Puritans of the New Haven colony, where a determined effort was being made to build up a theocratic form of government. In many instances they would permit no one to have any voice in public affairs unless he was a member of one of the Congregational churches. When the New Haven Colony—from whence the founders of Newark came—was established, in 1638, a "Fundamental Agreement" was drawn up and signed by all the settlers, binding themselves to three principles: 1. "That the Word of God shall be the only Rule attended unto in ordering the affairs of Government." 2. That they should "cast themselves into that mould and form of commonwealth which appeareth best, in reference to the securing of the pure and peaceable enjoyment of all Christ, His ordinances in the Church according to God." 3. "That the free burgesses shall be chosen from Church members, and they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves to have the power of transacting all public civil affairs of the plantation."

THE NEW HAVEN THEOCRACY.

From the above it will be seen that with these Puritans, Church and State were to be so closely bound together as to discourage all of different religious faith coming among them. They not only signed the "Fundamental Agreement" themselves, but they pledged themselves to compel all who might afterward enter the colony to stay, to subscribe to, or abide by it. You might, if you were not a Puritan, make your home in the New Haven Colony, but you must sign away all right to participate in government. They went further than the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, who admitted others than Puritans to suffrage, for only upon such foundation could they conceive of a commonwealth that would satisfy their intense yearning for the purest form of government possible upon earth. All must be of one mind and heart, they said to each other continually, or there can be no peaceful and clean life of the kind that a good man's conscience urges.

The Puritans were reformers who had fought a losing fight for many years in England. They were the English expression of a "new idea" movement that had long been stirring in Europe. Since government by man alone was being proven a miserable failure so far as the great mass of the people were concerned, they argued that God, through His Church, must be man's guide if man was to approach the happy state on earth that God had made possible for him. The nations of the earth must inevitably become even as Sodom and Gomorrah unless the rulers governed constantly in the fear of God and in strict obedience to conscience, which was God's voice. All that they saw in the workings of government about them in England tended to convince them of the strength of their position. The New Haven Colony men were among the strictest adherents to this conception.

Disheartened and discouraged by the corruption and greed of the crown and its officers and adherents, despairing of ever being permitted to live their lives in the purity of faith they felt essential and without which they could see no hope for England's future, the Pilgrim Fathers, the first of the Puritans to migrate, had left

their native country, going first to Holland. There, while they enjoyed absolute freedom to worship God in their own way, in common with thousands of other reformers of other faiths who had found asylum there from various parts of Europe, they did not relish losing their identity as English and Puritans. For these reasons the Pilgrim Fathers came to America. The Pilgrims never proposed, however, to separate themselves completely from England and all her institutions, and they intended to support the laws of the mother country, actively when they believed in them and passively when they did not.

In the New Haven Colony, however, the founders asked for nothing from England. They were to get their laws and ordinances, their whole theory and practical working scheme of government, from the Bible. "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars," says Proverbs ix, i, and this they took to be God's specific ruling and literally applicable to their own case, and chose seven men who, besides having supreme charge of the affairs of the church, had also the highest civic functions. These "seven pillars" chose the first governor and four deputies to assist him, while they themselves acted as magistrates. There were no juries, because the Mosaic law made no mention of any.

PURITAN INTOLERANCE.

It is not easy for us of this day to comprehend how men of the highest intelligence, some of them eminent students of history and close observers of all existing forms of government, could frame such a commonwealth and seriously expect it to endure. They had fled from intolerance, but no sooner did they have freedom to follow their own devices, untrammelled for a time by the home government, than they drew up the most drastic of laws and enforced them with grim harshness. It was in the very tolerance of the Pilgrims of Plymouth that the New Havenites and others thought they saw the ultimate collapse of that colony as a God-fearing community, so they thought to escape that eventuality by imposing the dictates of their own consciences upon all others who should

seek to abide among them. In so far as it applied to the State, it was a most pronounced sort of bossism that these reformers had immediately fallen into; a menace that has ever hovered close to the skirts of reform since the world began.

These Puritan reformers were, says Stearns in his History of the First Church of Newark, "full of the spirit of that animating vision which continually floated before their minds, to found a church upon pure principles, and a State which, though separated in its jurisdiction, should act in perfect harmony with the church and be governed in all its procedure by the rules of God's holy word. They seem to have supposed that by bringing up their children in the fear of God and excluding from the exercise of power among them those who were not governed by the same principles, they might continue to be of one heart from generation to generation."

So they erected their colony, the chief towns being New Haven and Milford on one side of New Haven harbor, and Branford and Guilford on the other. This was to be the last attempt but one of the Puritans in America to build up a theocracy. It was to take nearly thirty years to prove that a Kingdom of God on earth, an "Isle of Innocence" could not be made to work in the New Haven Colony; after which the final attempt was to be made by people of these four towns, in Newark. The towns were well located and they gradually prospered. New drafts of Pilgrims arrived, some from England and others from different sections of New England. Nearly all of them made excellent members of the communities, but not all could subscribe fully to the tenets of the Puritan church as there set up. These chafed under the lack of suffrage, denied them because they were not full church members, according to New Haven Colony doctrine.

PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS.

The colony of Connecticut was also growing, but it was more tolerant toward the newcomers, more alive to the changing conditions of the times. New Haven eyed Connecticut's increasing

strength askance. Discussion and dissension arose over the restraints put upon government by the church. It does not appear that members of the Established Church of England or of the Roman Catholic faith ever sought admission to the New Haven Colony, but the possibility of the coming of Quakers roused it to a pitch of intense excitement and caused the enactment of laws that well serve to illustrate the severity of the government. The persecution of Quakers in the New Haven Colony was nearly as harsh and intolerant as in Massachusetts. If a Quaker came into the colony on business he was to be permitted to despatch it, while accompanied by a guard, and was to be ejected as soon as his business was done. Anyone who harbored Quakers "or other blasphemous hereticks" was to forfeit fifty pounds sterling. If a Quaker showed an inclination not to abide by this law he was to be thrown into prison, severely whipped and put at hard labor for a term to be fixed by the magistrate. For a second offense a Quaker was to be branded with the letter "H" (for "heretic") on the hand, and imprisoned. For the third offense the other hand was to be branded, and for the fourth offense the tongue was to be bored with a hot iron. To bring Quaker books into the colony meant the imposition of a fine of five pounds. Some of these penalties were meted out upon a few. But not many came into the colony, naturally enough.

These anti-Quaker laws were put in operation in 1658. On the other hand the Colony of Connecticut was becoming even more liberal. She kept her skirts quite clean of severe practises, persecuting no sect, although striving to preserve the purity of her church. Under pressure of the increasing demand for a wider suffrage, Connecticut decided to admit to citizenship "persons of civil, peaceable and honest conversation," reducing the property requirement from thirty pounds to twenty. "The privilege of a freeman," says Cobb in his "The Rise of Religious Liberty in America," "was never made in Connecticut a perquisite of religion,

nor conditioned on church membership." These conditions in the neighboring colony served to aggravate the discontent in New Haven. A new generation was arising which could not see things in the stern, hard light of its fathers.

NEW HAVEN COLONY MERGED WITH CONNECTICUT.

In 1662 the New Haven Colony was merged with Connecticut by the King's order. New Haven's theocracy vanished then and there, and those of the latter colony who could not in conscience subscribe to the scheme of government in operation in the former, determined to depart; and thus Newark came to be.

King Charles II had never looked upon New Haven Colony with kindly eyes. Some of its founders and their fathers were among the fiercest of his royal father's foes; they were among the iron men who fought with Cromwell. Moreover, they had long harbored two of the regicides, the judges who pronounced sentence of death upon Charles I. The son no doubt took grim pleasure in wiping their establishment out of existence.

There are signs that the New Haven leaders had begun to realize that their theocracy could not much longer endure exactly as they had planned, it for several years before the consolidation of the two colonies. It is pretty certain, however, that they would all have remained in the new Connecticut had it not been for the fact that that colony, while refusing longer to recognize church membership as a necessary qualification for citizenship, was now permitting those who were not church members a voice in the making of laws that governed the church. This jeopardized the purity of the church, according to the New Haven view, and it was to them an unendurable condition; to accept it would have meant a sacrifice of conscience. True, the Connecticut lawmakers were careful to hedge this innovation about with various restrictions, but the fact remained that while the State retained authority over the church, the State at the same time gave to those outside its religious influence the power to influence it, by right of suffrage.

PASTOR PIERSON'S ACTIVITIES.

No one man was more active in promoting the religious excitement that culminated in removal from the New Haven Colony than the Rev. Abraham Pierson. In 1640 he was the spiritual leader of a company of Puritans that left Lynn, Massachusetts, and founded Southampton, Long Island, for the purpose of rearing a Church-and-State form of government similar to that started two years before at New Haven. It is a question whether the Rev. Pierson's church at Southampton was the first of any denomination on Long Island, or that at Southold, which was also a Puritan organization. In any event, there were very few months' difference between them. Four years later Southampton was annexed to Connecticut, which so displeased Pastor Pierson that he removed to the town of Branford in the New Haven Colony with whose high-minded theocratic views he was far more in sympathy than with the liberalism of Connecticut.

In Branford, Pastor Pierson, with the few followers who had accompanied him from Southampton, with the people of Branford and others from the town of Weathersfield, founded the church society, which later was to be transferred to Newark. This city's original church organization, the First Presbyterian as it is known to-day, is therefore about twenty years older than the city itself.

EARLY EFFORTS FOR A NEW SETTLEMENT.

As early as 1661, five years before the actual removal from the New Haven region, and a year before the actual absorption of the colony in Connecticut, the leaders among those who were determined not to become part and parcel of the Connecticut commonwealth, were casting about for a place of settlement. In the old Dutch records of New Amsterdam for that year are found copies of letters written to Governor Peter Stuyvesant by a small committee of New Haven men, seeking terms and conditions under which they might take up land in that part of New Netherland that was very soon to be known as New Jersey. Among those who signed these letters were two of the most forceful of Newark's

founders, Robert Treat and Jasper Crane. They even went to New Amsterdam and saw Stuyvesant, were pleasantly entertained by him and are believed to have visited the Achter Col in Stuyvesant's barge and gazed upon the land that later was to become Newark.¹

In all probability an agreement would have been arrived at in due process of time, but the sudden seizure of New Netherland by the English, in 1664, and the consequent collapse of Dutch sovereignty, made it necessary for the prospective colonizers to begin operations all over again and this time with their own race from across the seas.

The Puritans, especially those in Connecticut and New Haven colonies, had little affection for the Dutch. As early as 1640 a company of New Haven merchants had fitted out a ship and sent it to the Delaware to trade with the Indians and establish trading posts. The Dutch and Swedes, under the direction of the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam, confiscated their ship and goods, destroyed their trading houses and threw them into prison. Nine years later, members of New Haven Colony resolved to set up plantations upon Delaware Bay in the neighborhood of their previous operations. Again a ship was equipped, but it lingered off New Amsterdam, and the energetic Stuyvesant, being apprised of the Puritans' designs upon the Delaware, placed his heavy official hand upon the ship, its papers and crew. He told the ship's company if they did not go back to their homes he would send them to the Netherlands as prisoners if he found any of them on the Delaware. If they resisted arrest there, he told them he would fight them to the last extremity—and they knew he meant it.

Thus this expedition was thwarted. The New Haven Colony was ready to take extreme measures to support its merchants in their claims to land upon the Delaware, if the other New England colonies would unite with them. This the sister colonies refused to do. The merchants' rights to Delaware lands were based upon

¹ Miss Gail Treat's paper on Robert Treat, read at unveiling of Treat tablet in First Presbyterian Church, Newark, November 4th, 1912.

a purchase for thirty pounds sterling of large tracts on either side of the river from an English company called the New Albion Company, whose principal, Lord Ploydon, or Ploeydon, claimed to have received a grant from King James the First of the greater part of the territory between Maryland and New England. The Dutch, of course, refused to acknowledge the authority of King James or any other English monarch to the partition of what they believed to be their property by right of Henry Hudson's discovery.

For a time the New Haven merchants despaired of re-establishing their plantations on the Delaware, and it was while they were in a state of quiescence that the colonization movement, which resulted in the actual foundation of Newark, was incubating.

ENGLISH CONQUEST OF DUTCH TERRITORY.

As soon as the English had captured New Amsterdam the whole territory between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers fell into England's hands with no serious resistance, and Colonel Richard Nicholls, previously equipped with the necessary credentials by King Charles II, at the instance of James, Duke of York, became its governor in place of the doughty old Stuyvesant. The English had long claimed the ownership of New Netherland, by the right of discovery of the mainland of North America by John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing under the English flag, in 1497 and 1498. The Dutch were well aware of these claims, which may account in some small measure for their failure to colonize New Jersey more extensively than they did, fearing perhaps that some day the English might prove powerful enough to enforce the shadowy claims derived from the coastwise cruises of the Cabots.

Whatever we may think of the methods taken by England to possess itself of New Netherland, the virtual end of Dutch rule here marks the beginning of the real development of this wonderful country which we now so proudly call New Jersey. King Charles II gave New Netherland, the land between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, including certain territories on Long Island, to his brother, James, Duke of York. In fact this grant was made

while the Dutch were still in possession, and Colonel Nicholls was sent out by the Duke to clear the Dutch from his new possessions. While Nicholls' fleet was still on the sea, the Duke executed deeds of lease and release to two of the staunchest defenders of the crown, Lord John Berkeley, Baron of Stratton, and Sir George Carteret of Saltrum in Devon, of all New Jersey, including Staten Island. It was named Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey, since the ancient name of the island of Jersey was Caesarea, and it was the valorous defense of this island against the forces of Parliament in the time of Cromwell that had won for Carteret his high favor with the Duke of York and his brother, the King.

NEW JERSEY AS THE ENGLISH FOUND IT.

But their new possessions were of little value to the two noblemen, as the land then lay; a fringe of Dutch farms and bouweries along the west bank of the lower Hudson and on Staten Island, a sprinkling of houses along the Passaic and Hackensack valleys, small settlements of Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, and the great wilderness between, peopled by perhaps two thousand savages. If the Dutch had made little out of these "talents," the two new English owners did not propose to let them remain as it were, "wrapped in a napkin."

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS' "CONCESSIONS."

They must have colonists, and they set about with ingenuity and cleverness to get them. They undoubtedly knew of the troubled conditions in some of the New England settlements, especially of the situation in the recently absorbed New Haven Colony and while they zealously sought colonists at home they also proceeded to make known to the Puritans and others in their country what they had to offer in the way of settling places, what they would take for them, and what restrictions would be put upon the holdings. They did this by means of a printed announcement, whose title was: "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors of the Province of New Caesarea or New Jersey, to and with all and every of the Adventurers and all such as shall settle and plant there."

These Concessions mark the opening of the first era of progress and prosperity in New Jersey. They were fair, for the times, and frank on the face, and the people saw in them something of that which we of to-day are fond of calling the "square deal." The "Concessions" were the constitution upon which the new government was to be built up and were considered by the settlers as the virtual charter of their liberties, standing over and above all acts of the assembly which were subject to repeal and amendment while the "Concessions" were supposed to remain unchangeable. Unhappily, the "Concessions" did not prove so inviolable as the first settlers hoped.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Under the "Concessions" the new province was to have a Governor and a Governor's Council of not less than six nor more than twelve, selected by the Governor; there was also to be an Assembly of twelve, chosen each year by the freemen of the province. The nominating, commissioning and removing of officers was given over to the Governor and his Council. But they were to appoint only freeholders unless the Assembly agreed to the appointment of others. The Governor and Council were to have general supervision over the courts and over all those who were to see to the enforcement of the laws of the Province. The Assembly's consent had to be obtained before any tax could be levied upon the people.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly, under the "Concessions," was empowered "to pass laws for the good government of the Province, which, with the approbation of the Governor, were to remain in force for one year within which time they were to be submitted for the approval of the Lords Proprietors; to levy taxes, to create ports, to build forts, to raise militia, to suppress rebellion, and make war, to naturalize strangers, and to apportion lands to settlers. Should occasion require, communication could be made by the representatives, touching the conduct of the Governor and Council, or any other grievance, directly to the Lords Proprietors."²

² Whitehead's "East Jersey Under the Proprietors."

INDUCEMENTS OFFERED SETTLERS.

Special encouragement was offered to those who should embark with the first governor on the new venture, or meet him on his arrival. General directions as to how towns and boroughs should be laid out were given, and care was to be taken to see that each settler received clear title to his land and was protected in that title. For every acre of land the owner was to pay a half-penny yearly, as quit-rent, but this was not to go into effect until 1670. All settlers who became subjects of England, swearing allegiance to the King and fidelity to the Lords Proprietors, were assured of the full right to liberty of conscience, so long as that liberty was not used "to licentiousness, to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." While the assembly of the Province was to be permitted to appoint as many ministers of the Gospel as it saw fit, and provide out of the general funds for their support (meaning, of course, clergymen of the Established Church of England), groups of settlers might maintain such ministers as they preferred.

It is plain enough from the above summary of the "Concessions," that the New Haven men who were now shortly to found Newark under this new government were to set up the last Puritan theocracy under far less favorable conditions than they had known in New England. There they had been surrounded with those of their own religious belief and under a government of their own making. Here they were to share the right to exercise the liberty of conscience with all other decent folk, subject to the whims of that very government from whose tyranny they had fled.

The Lords Proprietors believed themselves not only in absolute possession of the land, but clothed with all authority necessary for the conduct of government. They were not given governmental power by the Duke of York, specifically, although by implication, and it is certain that James never intended that they should exercise it to the extent they did. Why he failed to take it from them (and indeed it is believed by many students that it was not possible in law for him to have given it to them anyway) does not appear. A few years after the English conquest of New Nether-

land the Dutch recaptured it, in 1673, soon after ceding it to England. The capture by the Dutch wiped out all title to the land held by Berkeley's successors and Carteret. James thus had an excellent opportunity to expunge the clause that gave them this power by implication, in the new patent he gave them. But he did not do this.

THE TROUBLE-MAKING NICHOLLS GRANTS.

Five years before the Dutch reconquest, Governor Nicholls had returned to England and had told James of the richness of his territory and of that which the latter had ceded to Berkeley and Carteret. Indeed, Nicholls when originally sent out to drive the Dutch from New Netherland had been given no intimation by his noble superior, but what the latter intended to retain the entire region for himself; and soon after his arrival on Manhattan Nicholls had issued a grant for two large and exceedingly valuable tracts in what is now New Jersey, to a few families of English from Long Island, known as the Monmouth and the Elizabethtown purchases.

When the representatives of Berkeley and Carteret arrived they objected to this disposition of part of their land, and a mighty controversy arose, which was not entirely settled at the outbreak of the War for Independence. There was great difficulty in clearing up and properly adjusting the titles to the land as a result of insufficient care in the very beginnings of New Jersey.

THE DUKE OF YORK ANNEXES STATEN ISLAND.

That James, Duke of York, regretted his concession of such a splendid property to Berkeley and Carteret we well know by one transaction, if by no other evidence. At the time of Governor Nicholls' visit to England, in 1668, James withdrew Staten Island from New Jersey, giving as his reason that it was really a part of his own Province, of New York, since "one arm of the Hudson river flowed around it."

All that the Duke required of the two old cavaliers in return for New Jersey was the payment of ten shillings, a rent of one peppercorn for the first year and a rent of 40 nobles annually thereafter "if required."

After a time the two original proprietors, first Berkeley and later Carteret, disposed of their rights to others. Presently there were two groups of proprietors, one for East and the other for West Jersey. Later the proprietary rights became so involved and inconvenient to handle, and the proprietors so many, while the governmental power was seen to more and more clearly devolve upon the crown, that the proprietors were glad to surrender their rights, in 1702.

THE THREE EPOCHS OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT IN NEW JERSEY.

English government in New Jersey falls logically into three periods: Government of all the territory by one group of proprietors, 1664-1674; by two groups, 1674-1702; and by the crown, 1702-1776. The Colony was divided into East and West Jersey, under what is known as the Quintipartite Deed, July 1, 1676.

It has been necessary to outline the conditions prevailing in New Jersey when the makers of Newark sought asylum in it, both because a clear understanding of the town's establishment and early days can not be gained without it, and because the founding of Newark was practically coincidental with the creation of the Province. New Jersey and Newark began within a year of each other.

CHAPTER IV.
PREPARATIONS FOR THE SETTLEMENT.

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THE first governor of New Jersey, Philip Carteret, a fourth cousin of the Lord Proprietor of that name, arrived in August, 1665, with a considerable company. He established himself at Elizabethtown, where he found a few settlers already on the ground, holding a grant for the territory from Governor Nicholls of New York, reference to which was made near the close of the last chapter. Although claiming full title to the land as representative of Lords Berkeley and Carteret, as soon as he found that title in dispute and the claims of those on the ground sustained by Governor Nicholls, Philip Carteret decided to lose no time in controversy, little dreaming of the long-drawn-out wrangle that was to follow. He took up land at Elizabethtown as one of the party there before him, as an individual settler, his companions doing likewise. These preliminaries disposed of, the governor despatched his agents into New England with copies of the "Grants and Concessions" already described.

SELECTING THE TOWN SITE.

Thus the discontented members of the recently extinguished New Haven Colony found their opportunity disclosed to them. A way was now opened for them to go and abide in the region which had attracted them for many years. They sent a small committee, composed of Robert Treat and John Gregory, to confer with Governor Carteret at Elizabethtown. Satisfied with their welcome, Treat and Gregory started out upon the selection of a suitable town site. They proceeded in their boat down the coast to the Delaware, and viewed with some favor the spot where Burlington now stands.

THE VISIT TO THE DELAWARE.

They knew of the Delaware river and valley from the efforts of some of their neighbors in the New Haven Colony to set up trading posts there. Possibly they had another motive which has

never before, the writer believes, been touched upon. They were, as we have seen, Pilgrims going out into strange lands to rear a community around their church and to worship God according to their own ideals. The first Puritans who came to America, the Pilgrim Fathers, had started from Holland with the intention of locating much further south than they did; it is believed they proposed to make their homes upon the Delaware. But wind and wave were against the Mayflower and forced her to make landing at Plymouth, after two or three ineffectual efforts to cruise southward to a milder climate. As it had been intended to first set up Puritan ideals on or near the Delaware, the Newark colonizers seem to have felt that it might be that God intended them to proceed as the Puritan pioneers of over forty years before had striven to do and failed.

But the little committee was not to be controlled by sentiment. At Burlington the new town would have been almost alone in the wilderness. Philadelphia was as yet unthought of and there were only a few Dutch and Swedish hamlets along the river shores, upon whose friendliness and assistance in time of stress the New Englanders must have felt they would not be able to rely. There were warlike Indians, too, not in New Jersey, but uncomfortably near in the Pennsylvania that was to be. So they returned to Elizabethtown and from there proceeded up the bay and into the Passaic, inspecting the region as closely as was possible from their boats. They were charmed with what they saw. To an extent at least—although not of course with a prescience that could picture the territory as we now know it—they realized its possibilities. The Indians thereabouts were peaceful; a town, an English town and the seat of the governor, peopled partly by Puritans, was struggling into life but a few miles away, at Elizabethtown, and from there it was but a short cruise along the narrow channel of the Kill van Kull, out into the greater bay and thence to New York. Their minds were made up, and back to Connecticut they hastened in their little sailing vessel, to report what they had found, carrying Governor Carteret's personal assurances in sup-

plement of the "Concessions." Their decision was of infinite importance. They had with an unerring insight and good judgment, closely akin to inspiration, selected the best spot in all New Jersey for a town.¹

And how did they describe the region to their people waiting anxiously in the homes they were so soon to leave? Fortunately, we know how the region impressed others at that time, and we may be very sure that Robert Treat and his companion on the voyage of investigation gave a description somewhat similar.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ESTIMATES OF THE NEWARK REGION.

The following, written in 1661, was found among the official documents of the Dutch government of New Netherland, done into the quaint English of the time and designed to apply to all of what is now New Jersey, but undoubtedly referring especially to the "Achter Col," or Newark Bay neighborhood, since that was the section of New Jersey with which the Dutch were most familiar:

"It is under the best climate in the whole world; seed may be thrown into the ground, except 6 weekes, all the yeere longe; there are five sorts of grapes which are very good and grow heere naturally, with divers other excellent fruits extraordinary good, and ye fruits transplanted from Europe far surpasseth any there, as apples, pears, peaches, melons, etc., and the land very fertile produceth a great increase of wheat and all other game whatsoever; here groweth tobacco very good; it naturally abounds with all sorts of dyes, furs of all sorts may bee had of the natives very reasonable; stores of saltpeter; marvellous plenty in all kinds of food; excellent veneson, elkes very great and large; all kinds of land and sea foule that are naturally in Europe are heere in great plenty, with severall sorts yt Europe doth not enjoy; the sea and rivers abounding with excellent fat and wholesome fish which are heere in great plenty; the mountainous part of the country stored with severall sorts of mineralls; great profit to be derived from traffique with the natives * * * heere may likewise bee great profit made by fishing whereby abundance of people may bee employed with great and notable advantages."

¹ In his address at the unveiling of the Robert Treat tablet, on Nov. 4, 1912, Mayor Jacob Haussling spoke of the wisdom of the founders as extraordinary, as they had located their town at a place practically immune from the storms, floods and other disasters of Paterson and from the occasional tornadoes of Elizabeth.

A delightful account of the Achter Col region was written in 1670 by Daniel Denton, one of the English settlers of Elizabethtown, who came from Long Island. Like the Dutch account given above, Denton's narrative is manifestly prepared to attract settlers. Both are what to-day would be considered "publicity" circulars, devised to popularize the region and attract colonists; and yet, both are clearly quite faithful to the facts, as the old observers saw them:

"I may say," begins Denton, "and say truly, that if there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by people of all ranks, especially of an inferior rank, it must certainly be here: here anyone may furnish himself with land, and live rent-free [he had not yet felt the goad of the quit-rent] yea, with such a quantity of Land that he may weary himself with walking over his fields of Corn and all sorts of Grain and let his stock of Cattel amount to some hundreds he needs not fear their want of pasture in the summer, or fodder in the winter, the woods affording sufficient supply." And he continues:

"For the Summer season, where you have Grass as high as a man's knees, nay, as high as his waste, interlaced with Pea vines and other weeds that Cattel much delight in, as much as a man can pass through; and these woods every mile or half-mile are furnished with fresh ponds, brooks or rivers, where all sorts of Cattel, during the heat of the day, do quench their thirst and cool themselves; these brooks and rivers being invironed of each side with several sorts of trees and Grape-vines, the vines, arbor-like, interchanging places and crossing these rivers, does shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of Sol's fiery influence.

"And how prodigal, if I may so say, hath nature been to furnish the Countrey with all sorts of wilde Beastes and Fowle, which everyone hath an interest in and may hunt at his pleasure; where besides the pleasure in hunting, he may furnish his house with excellent fat venison, Turkeys, Geese, Heath Hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pidgeons and the like; and wearied with this he may go a fishing * * * * where besides the sweetness of the air the Countrey itself sends forth such a fragrant smell that it may be preceived at Sea before they make the land; where no evil fog of vapour doth not sooner appear but a Northwest or Westerly wind doth immediately dissolve it and drive it away. I must needs say that if there be any Terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here, where the Land floweth with milk and honey."

INCENSE OF THE FOREST PRIMEVAL.

Several of the old navigators tell how they knew the land of this region was nigh, long before they came within sight of it. One voyager wrote, in 1632: "Threw the lead in fourteen fathoms, sandy bottom, and smelt the land, which gave a sweet perfume, as the wind came from the northwest, which blew off land, and caused these sweet odors. This comes from the Indians setting fire at this time of year [December 2] to the woods and thickets, in order to hunt; and the land is full of sweet-smelling herbs, as sassafras, which has a sweet smell. When the wind blows out of the northwest, and the smoke is driven to sea, it happens that the land is smelt before it is seen."

One ordinarily associates experiences like the above with the coasts of the Far East, but it is pleasant to know that the prospectors for the Newark home-site returned with impressions of sense and smell like those just quoted. Treat and Gregory could not have come to New Jersey much before September, and it may have been later. It must have taken two or three weeks, probably longer, for them to complete their investigations, so that they could not have returned to New England before October and very likely not until November.

THE COMING OF THE PIONEERS, MAY, 1666.

The colonizers deliberated upon their plans throughout the winter, and the first group of settlers left New Haven Bay some time before the middle of May, 1666. They came in at least two vessels, possibly it may have taken more of the small craft then used to transport them and their goods. The journey was short, for those days, and no particular hardship attended it, since it was over inland waters and at a gentle time of the year. Two days, three at the most, must have seen the Pilgrims finding their way up the Kill van Kull from New York Bay, toward Elizabethtown Point, where a few humble houses announced the headquarters of the government of the new colony.

The pioneer settlers were headed by their master-mind, Robert Treat, called "Captain" from the very beginning of the negotiations with Governor Carteret. Indeed, he had been captain of a train band in the New Haven Colony. With him were heads of several families from Milford and adjacent plantations. It is doubtful if many of the women, children, or old and decrepit people came at that time or for several months, until the first rough work of providing shelter and getting into the ground what crops they could, had been accomplished. Some of those who remained on the site the first summer were allowed extra concessions of land when the actual, individual allotments were made.

REFUSED POSSESSION BY THE INDIANS.

When Captain Treat completed his arrangements for the settlement with Governor Carteret the previous fall, it is said that he bore back to Connecticut with him a letter to be presented to the chief sachems of the Hackensack Indians at the time the settlers should be ready to take up the land. This letter was supposed to quiet all title the natives claimed and was to act as a warrant from the Governor, as was required under the "Concessions." In that letter Carteret assured the red men that he would see that they were reimbursed. But Treat is believed not to have had that letter about him when the vessels arrived in the Passaic alongside the land they proposed to occupy. Whether he had lost it or had forgotten to bring it, history does not tell. In any event the red men were on the ground, or arrived while the settlers were engaged in landing their goods, and said the ground was theirs, that they had not been paid for it. It is possible the missing letter might have explained everything to the satisfaction of the natives, but this is doubtful.

The settlers were downcast. They were at first inclined to believe they were the victims of a breach of faith upon the part of the Governor. They were disposed to return to Connecticut forthwith. They replaced their goods upon their vessels and headed for Elizabethtown Point, and Treat and others of the leaders were

soon in conference with Carteret. He protested vehemently against their giving up the enterprise, and if he had had any thoughts that they could be drawn into any transaction that was not strictly in accordance with the highest principles of right conduct and fair dealing toward savages as well as to civilized men, he must have been completely disabused of such impressions then and there. The settlers must have clear title to the land or they would have nothing to do with it or the Governor. The conference seems to have closed with the settlers resolving to arrange matters with the Indians themselves, as Carteret then and there refused to pay the red men anything for the territory that was to be Newark, and as they had now concluded that they would not go back to New England without first seeing if they could themselves arrive at some equitable understanding with the Indians.

WHY DID CARTERET DECLINE TO PAY THE INDIANS?

But why did Carteret refuse to be responsible for paying the Indians? This is an indistinct spot in Newark's history. Some historians have been inclined to think it was sharp practice on the Governor's part and that he was disposed to ignore the red man's claims upon the land. But this view is not at all consistent with his conduct in other sections of his proprietorship. The real reason for his attitude probably lies behind the fact that the Newark territory was believed by the first settlers of Elizabethtown to be part of the grant they received from Governor Nicholls, of New York, prior to Carteret's arrival, for which they paid the Indians about \$200 in goods and for which Governor Nicholls required nothing. While Governor Carteret and the proprietors who succeeded him contested the right of Nicholls to dispose of land in New Jersey, Carteret was at first probably willing to accept the validity of the Nicholls grant in so far as it was thought to effect the title to the Newark territory, partly in order to avoid the expenditure himself.

The Elizabethtown grant from Governor Nicholls had the following boundaries:² "On the South by a river commonly called Raritan River, and on the East by the river which parts Staten Island and the Main [Kill van Kull], and to run Northward up After Cull [Achter Coll, or Newark Bay] Bay till we come at the First River [which was quite generally construed to mean the Passaic River] which sets Westward out of the said Bay aforesaid, and to run West into the country twice the length as it is broad from the North to the South of the aforementioned bound."

Now, this great stretch of country, comprising nearly half a million acres, was claimed by two distinct tribes of Indians, all below Weequahic or Bound Creek being in the land of the Raritans, and that above being part of the domain of the Hackensacks. Naturally enough, the Hackensacks objected to their land being sold without their consent, and to the Raritans receiving compensation for it. Carteret seems to have felt that all obligations had been discharged to the Indians when he satisfied the Raritans as we have seen. So there was nothing else for Treat and his followers to do but to enter into negotiations with the Hackensacks if they wished to possess the land they had chosen.

ROBERT TREAT'S ACCOUNT.

We are fortunate in possessing Captain Treat's own narrative of part of the proceedings at the moment when the settlement of Newark hung wavering in the balance:

"No sooner was the company present got on the Place and landed some of their goods, than I with some others was by some of the Hackensack Indians warned off the Ground and [they] seemed troubled and angry that we landed any of our goods there tho' first we told them we had the Governor's order; but they replied that the land was theirs, and it was unpurchased; and therefore we put our goods on board the vessels and acquainted the Governor with the matter."

Of his visit to the Indians, Treat says that he, "with some others, went up to the Hackensack [the village and headquarters of the local tribe of Lenni Lenape] to treat with the Sagamores

² Elizabethtown Bill of Chancery.

and other Indian proprietors of the land lying on the West of the Passaick River. One Perro laid claim to the said land which is now called Newark."

The result of the meeting at Hackensack was an agreement that a company of Indians would meet the settlers on the ground. At this meeting there were present, besides the settlers and their Dutch interpreters, "all the Proprietors,"^a [continues the affidavit] "viz: Perro and his kindred, with the Sagamores that were able to travel; Oraton [the grand sachem of the Hackensacks] being very old but approved of Perro's acting. And then we acted by the Advice, Order and Approbation of the said Governor (who was troubled for our sakes) * * * * and I, with some others, solicited the Governor to pay for our Purchase to the Indians, which he refused, and would not disburse anything unless I would reimburse him again; and a Bill of Sale was made, wherein the Purchase of said land will at large appear."

HONEST DEALINGS WITH THE NATIVES.

We would lose sight of one of the most significant lessons to be learned from all Newark's early history if we failed to note at this juncture that the settlers paid the Indians for every foot of land; that it was a straightforward business transaction, carried out with quite as much exactitude as if the sellers had not been untutored savages. It was no doubt a very solemn occasion, the arrangement for the purchase. The settlers conformed to their consciences in paying the red men what they asked, as well as adhering to the letter of the English law that colonizers satisfy all claims of the savage inhabitants of a new country. It is a source for profound gratification to us to-day that Newark started with a clean record for fair and square dealing. Indeed, the same procedure was followed throughout all New Jersey. This, however, cannot be truly said of all the Colonies.

Perro, according to the laws of the tribe was the titular owner of the land out of which all of Newark, and in fact most of Essex

^a Affidavit of Treat in Elizabethtown Bill of Chancery.

county has been reared. He was recognized by tribal customs as its representative to whom the purchase price should be paid, although the proceeds of the sale were not to be held by him alone. Perro, then, stands for the earliest owners of Newark soil. The city should perpetuate his name in some lasting form.

While the agreement to sell was made by the Indians in May, 1666, the bill of sale was not signed until July 11, 1667, when practically all of those who are of right called the founders were on the ground.

Captain Treat and Samuel Edsal, the latter an interpreter of the Lenni Lenape tongue and a land owner living on Bergen-Neck, acted as agents for the settlers. Edsal was the pioneer in the settlement of Constable Hook. John Capteen, a Dutchman, was also on hand as interpreter, while Perro was the principal for the Indians. The following natives signed the document with their marks or individual totems: Wapamuck, Harish, Captamin, Ses-som, Mamustome, Peter Wamesane, Wekaprokikan, Cackmackque or Cacknakrue, and Perawae. These were the settlers who signed: Michael, or Micah, Tompkins, Samuel Kitchell, John Brown and Robert Denison. Besides Edsal, there were as witnesses: Pierwim, sachem of Pau; Edward Burrowes and Richard Fletcher.

THE FIRST PURCHASES OF LAND.

The tract purchased, as the bill or deed of sale describes it, was "bounded and limited with the bay eastward, and the great river Pesayak northward; the great creek or river in the meadow, running to the head of the cove and from thence bearing a west line, for the south bounds, which said great creek is commonly called Weequahick; on the west line, backwards in the country to the foot of the great mountain, called Watchung [the Lenni Lenape name for Orange mountain, meaning 'the place of the mountain'], being, as is judged, about seven or eight miles from Pesayak Towne. The said mountain, as we are informed, hath one branch of the Elizabeth river running near the above said foot of the mountain. The bounds northerly up Pesayak river reach to the third river

above the town. The river is called Yauntakah, and from thence, upon a northwest line to the aforesaid mountain."

The price paid for this superb area was, according to the East Jersey records: "fifty double hands [as much as the two hands held together hold, undoubtedly] of [gun] powder, one hundred bars of lead, twenty axes, twenty coats, ten guns, twenty pistols, ten kettles, ten swords, four blankets, four barrels of beer, ten pair of breeches, fifty knives, twenty hoes, eight hundred and fifty fathoms of wampum, twenty ankers⁴ of liquors, or something equivalent, and ten troopers coats."

This odd catalogue represents the Indian's idea of what the white man calls wealth. Probably the savages felt they were making a good bargain. In money these goods had a value of about \$700, as we would reckon it to-day. That sum to-day (1913) nearly two hundred and fifty years after the purchase, would not buy two inches of front near the corners of Market and Broad streets. Ten years later, on March 13, 1677, the settlers made another purchase, extending the western boundary, from the base to the top of the mountain, giving two guns, three coats and thirteen cans of rum.

Thus the original owners of the soil received goods valued at about \$700 for the greater part of what is now Essex county. No more eloquent illustration of the mighty changes wrought in two centuries and a half can be given anyone of the present generation who feels himself passably familiar with this region as it is to-day. The payment was not made immediately upon taking possession.

The deed of sale was not signed, as we have seen, until the following year. The purchase price was assessed upon each family, not only those who first came, but all who arrived in the next year who were entitled to be considered among the "associates," or makers of the original settlement. And they were, indeed, very well able to pay, for it is reckoned that the thirty families in the

⁴ An anker was ten wine gallons.

first group of settlers from Milford "and neighboring plantations" had a combined wealth (real and personal) of about \$64,000, an average of over \$2,000 for each family, no mean sum indeed for the time.

DATE OF SETTLEMENT—SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

We date the settlement from the first landing, which, as we have seen, was not the permanent landing. Did the first appearance of the settlers in the Passaic and the landing of part of their goods, fall on May 17, or on May 20, 1666, or on either date? In the writings of a number of historians we find May 20 favored. May 17 was used on the occasion of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement, in 1866. May 20 was adopted as "Founder's Day" at the time of the Newark Industrial Exhibition in May, 1912. There is nothing in any record now [1913] known to exist that fixes it

There are but two really direct sources of the history of the beginnings of Newark's settlement: the Elizabethtown Bill of Chancery, copies of which may be seen at the New Jersey Historical Society's building in West Park street, Newark, and the old Newark "Town Minute Book," containing the records of the town meetings from 1666 to 1775, with two short omissions in 1714 and 1715. In the archives of the Municipal Library at the Newark City Hall is a copy of the minutes made by Joseph Hedden, junior, in 1775, by order of a public town meeting, for which he was paid ten pounds, "proclamation money." All trace of the original minutes has been lost since that time. It is to be doubted that anyone then thought these ancient original records of any value. If they were preserved, either in the Court House or in the home of the village pastor of Revolutionary times, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Macwhorter, the British made short work of them, as they did with others of Newark's almost priceless records.

In neither Minute Book nor Elizabethtown Bill of Chancery proceedings is the date of the founding given. The Minute Book (Hedden's copy) begins with an "Imprimis," believed to have been

written by Captain Treat, who was the first Recorder and keeper of the minutes, explaining that the settlers deliberated together, in what was virtually the first Newark town meeting, although it was held either on one of their vessels or on land in or near Elizabethtown, and on May 21. They no doubt took this common action as soon after their ejection from the land by the natives as possible, probably the very next day, if not on May 21 itself. One thing appears certain, that the seven days ending with May 21 should be considered as "founders' week." This comprehends both dates that have in the past been considered as the anniversary of the eventful day, May 17 and 20.

THE LANDING PLACE.

Where did they land? This fact, too, is shrouded in uncertainty. The spot, in all probability lay somewhere between the present location of the Market street and Centre street bridges, and probably nearer the latter. Almost immediately below the Market street bridge were the marshes. There was in fact, a marshy fringe along the Newark side of the river nearly all the way to what is now Belleville. Immediately back of the marsh was a ridge or bluff whose lines can still be traced. Only six months after the settlement, reference was made in the Minute Book to the "landing place" in locating the home lot of Thomas Richards, and from the description there given the spot would appear to have been close to Centre street bridge, possibly a little below it.

There is a pretty little story to the effect that the first to set foot on the shore was Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Samuel Swarne, Swaine or Swain, one of the leading men among the founders. She is said to have been assisted to land by Josiah Ward, whom she afterward married. This story seems to have been handed down by word of mouth through the long line of generations of Newark folk, and like most traditions it has possibly been unconsciously perverted from the original story. The Swains and Wards were of the Branford group, and very few of the people from that town came to Newark until months after the settlement

in May, those who did come with the pioneers being the "agents" referred to elsewhere. It was originally intended, before the actual settlement, to found four towns, the groups from the Connecticut towns to retain identity as so many communities. Elizabeth Swain was probably the first of the Branford group, but not of the pioneers, to land.

DIVIDENT HILL AND THE TRIANGLE.

While the bill of sale settled the boundaries of the new community so far as the Indians were concerned, the Newark settlers had still to reckon with their neighbors in Elizabethtown as to the precise line of partition between them. Representatives of the two towns assembled at Weequahic creek in 1668, and solemnly and amicably fixed the boundary there, with prayer and thanksgiving. Thereafter the little stream was called Bound Creek, which name it shares with the older Indian name, Weequahic, to this day. It is well worth remembering that Weequahic creek was the boundary line between the Hackensack and Raritan tribes of the Lenni Lenape for many generations before the white man came. It possesses another feature of value, since the creek is probably the last surviving trace of the prehistoric Passaic river outlet, which flowed through the Short Hills and down to the sea, when the present course was blocked with the glacial ice pack near Little Falls, and for an unknown duration of time before the glacial era.

The ceremonies attending the fixing of the boundary were held on an eminence, called "Divident Hill" thereafter, and on May 20. We cannot but wonder if that date was chosen as the anniversary of the landing of the Newark settlers, or if it was only by chance that it fell so close to, if not actually upon, the second anniversary of that important event. The agents for the two towns in fixing the boundaries were: For Newark—Jasper Crane, Robert Treat, Matthias Canfield, Richard Harris and Thomas Johnson. For Elizabethtown—John Ogden, Luke Watson, Robert Bond and Jefferey Jones.

One interesting part of the ceremonies on Divident Hill was the cutting of the letter E on the south side of an oak tree and of the letter N on the north side, to mark the boundary line for future reference. Similar markings were cut upon trees along the rest of the boundary line westward.

The business done on that memorable day, May 20, 1668, settled for the time being an important point, as to whether the boundary line was to run due west from the lower reaches of Weequahic creek or northwest to the Watchung mountains. A great triangle of land, of great length westward, lay between those two imaginary lines. On Divident Hill the men of Newark solemnly gave up all claims to that triangle and accepted a boundary line running northwest from that hill to the break in Watchung mountain, virtually at the southern end of what is now known as the South Mountain reservation.

In compensation for the concession of the triangle, or such part of it as lay east of Watchung Mountain, the people of Elizabethtown agreed to give to Newark the salt meadows, from Snake Hill to Barbadoes Neck, being the tract between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers and including the ridge then, or soon afterwards, known as Barbadoes Neck, and being the ridge which we now call Kearny. Later, however, it was found that a prior grant for that territory had been given to the Kingsland and Sandford families, English settlers who had come from the West Indies, and who supplied the name "Barbadoes." When this became known the Newark men demanded that the "triangle," to which they had surrendered all title on Divident Hill, be given them since they had nothing to show in place of it. But their demands did not prevail. During the short period in which the Dutch were again in authority, the Newarkers purchased the tract from them, but later the Proprietary government restored it to Kingsland and Sandford without remuneration to the Newark folk.

The subsequent history of the "triangle" is interesting. It remained a part of the borough of Elizabeth until 1834, when a portion of it was included within the limits of the township of

Clinton. This township was annexed to Newark about 1902, and thus, after the lapse of nearly a century and three-quarters, a goodly portion of the ancient triangle became a part of Newark.

THE ELIZABETHTOWN BILL IN CHANCERY.

The Barbadoes Neck controversy dwindled into insignificance before the far more important discussions involved in the celebrated Elizabethtown Chancery case, the suit being begun with the filing of a voluminous Bill in Chancery on April 13, 1745, by the Earl of Stair and other proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey against what were known as the Clinker Lot Right men who claimed title to the land under the grant of Governor Nicholls of New York, made by him a little before Governor Carteret appeared on the scene in 1665. There were thirty complainants in the case and four hundred and sixty-two defendants.

In this suit the proprietors asked the governor of the Province to grant writs of injunction "commanding the defendants and confederates to commit no further waste or spoil upon the lands in question by the cutting of timber or other abuse whatsoever until your Excellency shall have given farther instructions therein."

The writs were never granted, nor was any decision ever given in the case. The excitement immediately before and throughout the French and Indian war seems to have prevented a decision in the 1750's; (the defendants filed an "Answer" to the bill in 1752). Before the courts were again ready to move, the promulgation of the Stamp Act made a decision impracticable or unwise. Then came the War for Independence and no more has ever been heard of the Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, except in the pages of history and in legal proceedings where citations from proceedings with reference to it have been considered of value to counsel.

OTHER LAND CONTROVERSIES.

In the controversy embodied in the Elizabethtown Bill in Chancery, the Bound Creek partition and Divident Hill played an active part, much information of the greatest value to Newark's

historians being there set down, usually in the form of affidavits. The struggle between the proprietors and the people for possession of the land hereabouts first found its way into the courts in the form of prosecutions to test the validity of the Nicholls grant, as early as the first year of the reign of George I, causing troublous times in Newark, Elizabethtown and other places affected. The interests of Newark's people were closely identified with those of Elizabethtown, not only in these prosecutions but in the Bill in Chancery, since Newark's territory was held to be included in the Nicholls grant whose soundness the proprietors sought to destroy. As the Elizabethtown settlers gave up all rights to the Newark territory at the time of the ceremonies on Divident Hill, the two had common cause against the proprietors.

It is strange how ancient controversies like this are often given to cropping out in new forms in succeeding generations. In 1857 Union County was set off from Essex, and the boundary line was declared to be that of the two municipalities, Newark and Elizabeth. No attempt was made in the law to accurately define that boundary. In 1880, however, the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Essex County applied to the Supreme Court of the State, under a statute then in force, for the appointment of commissioners to locate the line. "At that time," wrote Frank Bergen, who represented the county of Union, as counsel, "it was supposed that a surveyor could easily ascertain the line and that the dispute would be settled by the commission without trouble. It turned out, however, that there was no reliable evidence in existence as to the location of the boundary, and a mass of historical matter was collected running back for more than two hundred years.⁵

After many months of controversy in the courts during which the Legislature twice interposed, a law was enacted locating the boundary between the two counties, as it had been fixed partly by the settlers on Divident Hill and determined by the old deeds, records, mortgages, tax receipts, etc.

⁵ From an article entitled "Newark's Boundary Fight," by Frank Bergen, General Counsel for the Public Service Corporation, in the Newark Sunday Call, Anniversary Number, May 12, 1912.

LOCATION OF DIVIDENT HILL.

As for Divident Hill, it deserves to be reckoned as one of the most precious of Newark's landmarks, since it was on an ancient division line established no one knows how long before the coming of the white man; since on its summit the settlers of two of the leading communities in all New Jersey fixed their bounds, and because the hill figured in great controversies between the people and the Lords Proprietors, from the early days of settlement down to the War for Independence.

There seems to have been no question of its precise location until about 1880, when the suits to determine the boundary between Essex and Union counties began as already described. The parties to the suits sought, with true human characteristics, to have the boundary moved further north or south according to the county in which their interests lay.

The strongest testimony as to the location of the historic hill fixed it a short distance east of Elizabeth avenue and about on a line with Lyons avenue, if that thoroughfare had been cut through. A recently constructed park boulevard (1913) runs around part of the hill base. Following these directions one finds himself upon perhaps the highest eminence in the entire neighborhood, upon just such a hill as one might imagine surveyors and engineers would select for a boundary. It is well within the confines of the Weequahic Reservation and its preservation thus falls into the appreciative hands of the Essex County Park Commission. This hill, it may be added, was the one given as Divident Hill by William A. Whitehead, one of New Jersey's most reliable historians, who lived in Newark and whose personal recollections of it extended back to at least 1820, and who no doubt fixed its location partly by the information given him by residents whose memories carried them back at least a half century before his own time.

EARLY ORGANIZATION OF NEWARK SETTLERS.

Returning to the main narrative after this long but essential digression:

Agents from the towns of Guilford, New Haven and Branford were with the first settlers that memorable May time, 1666. They approved of all that was done in the selection and purchase of the town site, and they were told that if the people of their towns who had thought of joining in the new venture should make favorable answer before the following November, the Milford folk, already on the ground, and the prospective new arrivals, whom they called "associates," should constitute one township only; "to be," as the Minute Book declares in the true Puritan style, "of one heart and consent with God's blessing in endeavoring to carry on their spiritual concerns, as well as their civil and town affairs, according to God and a Godly government."

It was the men of Milford who really founded the town and devised the beginnings of the town government; for at the gathering held on May 21, 1666, while negotiations with the Indians were pending, and which we have already spoken of as Newark's first town meeting, they chose their first officers, in the form of an executive or emergency committee of eleven members, "for the speedier and better expedition of things then emergent to be done," as follows:

FIRST TOWN COMMITTEE.

Captain Robert Treat, Lieutenant Samuel Swain, Mr. [a title of distinction at that time] Samuel Kitchell, Michael Tompkins [or Micah Tomkins], Mr. Morris, Sergt. Richard Beckly, Richard Harrison, Thomas Blatchly, Edward Riggs, Stephen Freeman and Thomas Johnson. This committee was to have charge of the system of home lot distribution and to pass upon the rights and credentials of all whom the agents of Guilford and Branford might declare were privileged to join in settlement, their rights to lots as associates to be held open for them until June of the next year.

BRANFORD GROUP AND THE "FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENTS."

It was the Branford group, however, that drew up the religious foundation upon which the town was to be erected, and in which Newark's first pastor was no doubt largely instrumental.

This it did at a public meeting in Branford, on October 30, 1666, just previous to leaving. This was the only one of the four communities that brought practically all of its people to New Jersey. They drew up two "fundamental agreements," in accordance with the term of agreement laid down by the Milford folk at the "first town meeting," on May 21, after the manner of the "fundamental agreement" of the New Haven Colony, and embodying their fervid Puritan ideals described in a previous chapter, as follows:

"1st. That none shall be admitted freemen or free Burgesses within our town upon Passaick River, in the province of New Jersey, but such planters as are members of some or other of the Congregational Churches; nor shall any but such be chosen to Magistracy, or to carry on any part of Civil Judicature, or as deputies or assistants to have power to vote in establishing Laws, and making or repealing them, or to any chief Military Trust or office. Nor shall any but such Church members have any Vote in any such elections: Tho' all others admitted to Be planters have Right to their proper Inheritances, and do and shall enjoy all other Civil Liberties and Privileges, According to Laws, Orders, Grants, which are or hereafter shall Be Made for this Town.

"2nd. We shall with Care and Diligence provide for the maintenance of the purity of Religion professed in the Congregational Churches."

NEWARK'S FOUR SCRIPTURAL FOUNDATION STONES.

The document bearing these agreements had written at the head of it four texts from the Old Testament, which the people of Branford had selected as the pillars, or foundation stones upon which this, the last Puritan theocracy, or Kingdom of God on earth, was erected, in sublime indifference to any and all laws that might be set up by Governor Carteret, or any other representative of the Lords Proprietors, or of the British crown. These texts were as follows:

Deuteronomy, i, 13. "Take you wise men and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you."

Exodus, xviii, 21. "Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them to be rulers of thousands and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."

Deuteronomy, xvii, 15. "Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee: thou mayst not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother."

Jeremiah, xxx, 21. "And their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them."

SUBORDINATE AGREEMENTS.

Upon these two "fundamental agreements" several others were devised, not by the Branford men but by the Milford company with the New Haven and Guilford agents, during the delay incidental to the settlement as to the land with the Indians, or shortly after; and it was these first agreements that the Branford men are believed to have scanned before they drew up the foundation just described. One of these read:

"It is agreed upon, that in case any shall come in to us, or arise amongst us, that shall willingly or willfully disturb us in our peace and settlements, especially that would subvert us from the true religion and worship of God, and can not or will not keep their opinion to themselves, or be reclaimed after due time and means of conviction and reclaiming hath been used; it is unanimously agreed upon, and consented unto, as a fundamental agreement and order, that all such persons so ill-disposed and affected, shall, after due notice given them from the town, quietly depart the place seasonably, the town allowing them such valuable consideration for their lands or homes as indifferent men shall price them, or else leave them to make the best of them to any man the town shall approve of."

Another most significant item, apparently not drawn until 1667, was one by which they deliberately set about to establish their own courts, with refreshing indifference to the fact that they were about to make their homes in a British Colony whose officers would naturally expect to order the manner of judicial proceedings themselves:

"It is solemnly consented unto and agreed by all the planters and inhabitants of the Town of Newark from their settling together at first, and again publicly renewed as their joint covenant one with another, that they will from time to time all submit one to another to be lead, ruled and governed by such magistrates and rulers in the town, as shall be annually chosen by the freemen^a

^a The word is written "friends" in the copy of the Minute Book made in 1775, but is generally believed to be an error.

from among themselves, with such orders and law whilst they are settled here by themselves as they had in the place from whence they came, under such penalties as the magistrates upon the nature of the offence shall determine."

THE "SPECIAL CONCESSIONS" THEORY.

The settlers of Newark, while not willing to grant much in the way of independence to those who might wish to abide with them, were most insistent upon their independence as a community when dealing with Governor Carteret, and for that matter, with his successors. It was until quite recently thought that the founders had some special concessions from Carteret other than those set down in the original document circulated by his agents and upon the strength of which Newark and the other early English settlements were founded. Weight was lent to this argument by items in the Newark "agreements" such as that last quoted. It is highly probable, however, that they had no right or authority to set up their own courts or to make sundry other town laws which they did. They sought to separate themselves as absolutely as possible from all the rest of the colony, as early as they could, before the Colonial government had been fully organized and had time to make laws that would interfere with them. Treat and the other leaders who first consulted with the Governor found him willing to concede almost everything they wished except to give up the quit-rent; but if he made any special concessions to them, in writing and therefore binding, they have been completely lost.

A "WALL" THAT SOON CRUMBLED.

Thus was a wall to be built about Newark, to be maintained, the would-be builders fervently trusted, to the very end of time. And these austere "agreements" are filed away in the archives of history, side by side, we may say, with the progressive and kindly "Grants and Concessions" of the Lords Proprietors, with their never-to-be-forgotten "liberty of conscience" clause. By very contrast between the two, the intolerance and narrowness of the Puritan plan stands out in sharp relief. The unending wonder of

it is that a community planned on such lines could spring immediately into prominence as one of the most prosperous and forceful in all the colony.

The signing of the "fundamental agreements" was enforced with rigidity for about a decade and a half. After that settlers were sometimes admitted upon the payment of the purchase money for the land. In 1680, eleven were admitted in that way; at least there is no record that they signed the agreements. In 1685 a committee was chosen to make a house-to-house canvass in search of all non-signers and to report to town meeting. There is nothing in the Minute Book to show that the committee ever reported. A year later a settler was admitted, "he submitting to all wholesome orders." Thereafter no mention is made of the agreements, and we are no doubt safe in believing that they were disregarded thereafter, although a strict censorship over all new comers was kept for several generations.

CHAPTER V.
THE FOUNDERS.¹

CHAPTER V.

THE FOUNDERS.¹

WE fortunately have preserved to us in the old Minute Book the names of the sixty-three founders of Newark, and it is possible also to describe with considerable detail the personalities of the leading men. This chapter is devoted to that purpose, for certain it is, no Newarker can hope to know his Newark thoroughly until he has some understanding of the individual characters of the founders, until he realizes that they were men, taking the group as a whole, of more than ordinary calibre; systematic, painstaking and orderly in their methods, singularly well equipped to lay down the foundations of what is now one of the greatest cities on the continent, upon a sure, safe and enduring basis.

The Milford, Guilford and New Haven men, forty-one in number, signed the "fundamental agreements" described in the last chapter, on or before June 24, 1667, and their names are given here just as they are believed to have written them.

THE MILFORD, GUILFORD AND NEW HAVEN SIGNERS.

Robert Treat	his	Hauns Albers
Obadiah Bruen	Francis F. Linle	Thom. Morris
Matthew Camfield	mark	Hugh Roberts
Samuel Kitchell	Daniel Tichenor	Eph'm Pennington
Jeremiah Pecke	John Bauldwin, Sr.	Martin Tichenor
Michah Tomkins	John Bauldwin, Jr.	John Browne, Jr.
Stephen Freeman	Jona Tomkins	Jona Seargeant
Henry Lyon	George Day	Azariah Crane
John Browne	Thomas Johnson	Samuel Lyon

¹ The sketches of the leading men among the founders in this chapter are designedly devoid of genealogical detail, which will be found either in the chapters in this work devoted to such material or in the following authorities from which most of the accompanying data is drawn: "Genealogical Notices of the Settlers," by S. H. Conger; Dr. Stearns' "History of the First Church," and Francis Bazely Lee's Biographical and Genealogical History of New Jersey.

John Rogers	John Curtis	Joseph Riggs
Stephen Davis	Ephraim Burwell	Stephen Bond
Edward Rigs	his	
Robert Kitchell	Robert R. Denison	
his	mark	
J. B. Brooks	Nathaniel Wheeler	
mark	Zachariah Burwell	
his	William Camp	
Robert V. Lymens	Joseph Walters	
mark	Robert Dalglesh	

The first signers to the "agreements" were, of course, the Branford group, who set down their signatures when they drafted them, October 3, 1666. The Milford pioneers, the "thirty heads of families," are included in the above list. The Branford list, with the name of Pastor Pierson second in line, is as follows:

THE SIGNERS OF BRANFORD.

Jasper Crane	Josiah Ward	Ebenezer Camfield
Abra Pierson	Samuel Rose	John Ward, Sr.
Samuel Swaine	Thomas Pierson	Ed. Ball
Laurence Ward	John Warde	John Harrison
Thomas Blacthly	John Catling	John Crane
Samuel Plum	Richard Harrison	Thomas Huntington
Delivered Crane	John Johnson	
Aaron Blacthly	his	
Richard Laurence	Thomas L. Lyon	
	mark	

Out of the sixty-four founders as above set down, we find but five unable to write their names, one among the Branford men and the remaining four from the three other towns. Among the women and the servants the percentage of illiteracy was of course very high, although it must be remembered that these people were far beyond the average intelligence of the so-called illiterates of our day. They spelt their names in divers ways at different times. To avoid confusion the spelling generally accepted by their descendants is used here. They were all of them, as their names clearly indicate, of English stock, with the exception of Dalglesh (believed to be a curious spelling of Douglass), a Scotchman, and Hans or

Hauns Albers, a German or Dutchman, who came with the others from Milford, and who may either have been originally one of the Dutch settlers in and around New York or may have come under Puritan influence during the stay of the Pilgrims in the Netherlands, where there were many German refugees.

As for the rest, the family names of most of them survive in Newark to-day. Many were related, some by blood and others by marriage. They were thus bound together in one large family by the closest of human ties, those of kinship and of religion.

None of the settlers came directly from England to Newark, although nearly all were born in the old country. Every one of the forty-two counties of England contributed to the great Puritan exodus, but it is probable "that two-thirds of the American people who can trace their ancestry to New England might follow it back to the East Anglian shires of the mother country."¹

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE LEADING MEN.

ROBERT TREAT—No better understanding of the character of the Newark founders is to be had than by a perusal of short biographies of some of the leaders, and there is none that stands out through all the records in such sharp and striking relief as Robert Treat, the master mind of the colony from the beginning and for about six years thereafter.

He was born in England, came to the New Haven Colony when a young man, and settled in Milford, after a brief stay in Wethersfield. He is believed to have been well educated and his father was a man of mark in New England before him. He had two wives, and the first was Jane, daughter of Edward Tapp, one of the "seven pillars" of the Milford church. We all like to believe one story told of her as showing her a woman of some wit as well as decision. It tells how Treat, while beseeching her to marry him, drew her down upon his lap, when she said: "Robert, have done with that; I had rather be Treated than trotted."² He held many posi-

¹ Lambert's Hist. Coll. New Haven, p. 137.

² Lambert's Hist. Coll. New Haven, p. 137.

tions of trust in the New Haven Colony, and was a magistrate at the time the Crown was striving to capture the regicides Goffe and Whalley, who were in hiding there. Treat warned the people not to harbor the regicides, as was his duty, but it is believed that he assisted in protecting them, nevertheless.

He was virtually the pathfinder for the settlers of Newark, as we have seen. He foresaw the necessity of the immigration, years before it actually came, and he was the leader in the early negotiations with the Dutch as well as with the English later. He was Newark's first town magistrate and, as the first recorder or town clerk, was the first keeper of the Town Minute Book. He and Jasper Crane are believed to have had more to do with the admirable laying out of the original town plat, to which we are indebted for the superb breadth of Broad street and the three triangular parks with which its course is relieved, than to anyone else. Their responsibility for this work can not be determined by actual fact and is rather the impression gathered by local engineers and surveyors whose business it has been to search all available records and other material to locate road lines, boundaries, etc.

Treat was one of the town's two first representatives to the General Assembly. His title of Captain, from the very beginning of the colonization movement, signified that he was the temporal leader of the little flock, before it had a spiritual one. He was Newark's Miles Standish, for while war did not come to the little settlement, had there been fighting with the Indians or with white foes, Treat would undoubtedly have been the people's tower of strength in time of battle, and for all such contingencies he and his lieutenants prepared with great deliberation and care. Treat was active in military affairs while a young man in New Haven Colony. He took part in a campaign against the Dutch.

When the settlement was well organized, Treat returned to Connecticut, in 1672, leaving two sons and as many daughters behind him. He was almost immediately made magistrate of the Province and was also appointed as major of militia. At one time

ROBERT TREAT

THE DOMINANT SPIRIT IN THE SETTLEMENT OF NEWARK IN 1666
CHOSE THIS SITE FOR HIS HOME

IN RECOGNITION OF HIS SERVICES

"THE NEIGHBOURS FROM MILFORD FREELY GAVE WAY
THAT CAPTAIN ROBERT TREAT SHOULD CHUSE EIGHT
ACRES FOR HIS HOME LOTT"

HE WAS TOWN MAGISTRATE, THE FIRST TOWN CLERK,
ONE OF THE TWO DEPUTIES TO THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY,

AND IN THE GENERAL AFFAIRS OF THE YOUNG
SETTLEMENT'S FOUNDATION BECAME A TRUSTED LEADER

IN 1672 HE RETURNED TO CONNECTICUT

AND LATER WON HONOUR ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE
IN KING PHILIP'S WAR. HE WAS GOVERNOR FOR THIRTEEN
YEARS AND WAS ONE OF THAT DAUNTLESS COMPANY WHO

REFUSED TO SURRENDER THE COLONY'S CHARTER

AND CONCEALED IT IN THE CHARTER OAK.

IN A LARGE DEGREE IT WAS HIS WISDOM IN COUNSEL

AND FORCEFULNESS IN ADMINISTRATION

THAT MADE THE "TOWN ON THE PESAYACK"

THE WORTHY FORERUNNER OF THE GREATER NEWARK

ERECTED BY

THE SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB

ASSISTED BY THE PUPILS OF THE NEWARK PUBLIC SCHOOLS
NEWARK, DAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1912

THE TREAT TABLET, AT BROAD AND MARKET STREETS
Erected 1913

he headed a small squad of what we would call light cavalry, going to the relief of settlers attacked by the Indians. In 1675 he commanded the Connecticut militia in the epoch-making battle of Bloody Brook, in which the power of the red man in New England was broken forever, and before which the very existence of the New England colonies may be said to have hung in the balance.

After a long march through deep snow and in intense cold, the Indian stronghold was found, on a hill in a marsh. It was a village, strongly palisaded and further protected with a deep ditch or moat. A tree was felled across the moat at the front of the village and at the portal. Across this the white men dashed with great valor, but were shot down until the ditch about the tree was filled with bodies of the dead and dying. For a long time the odds were against the white men. Major Treat and his men, bringing up the rear of the little army, arrived on the field near dusk. He sent part of his force into the main attack at the felled tree-trunk and with the rest set out to reconnoiter the sides and rear of the village. They found a weak spot in the palisades and forced their way through, attacking the savages with great spirit from the rear. This demonstration demoralized the Indians and they were quickly crushed between the two forces of militia. Tradition says that Treat was the last to leave the village, and that he received a bullet through his hat.

Treat and his men were hailed as heroes upon their return home and the grateful people accorded him rapid preferment after that. He was governor of Connecticut at the time of the historic visit of Sir Edmund Andros to demand the charter of the Province, and he sat in the assembly room at Hartford on that memorable day and evening when Andros, on behalf of the Crown, strove to wrest the precious document from the people. While the deliberations were in process and the charter lay upon the table, it grew dark and candles were brought. The weather was warm and the windows were open. A cloak was thrown into the room and the gust it created extinguished the lights. When the candles were re-lit the charter was gone, to rest securely in "Charter Oak" until

it was no longer in danger. Just what part Treat played in this historic event we shall probably never know; but that he was deep in the plot we can have no doubt. He was deputy governor or governor of Connecticut for thirty-two years. He died in 1710 in his eighty-fifth year.

"Few men have sustained a fairer character or rendered the public more important services. He was an excellent military officer; a man of singular courage and resolution, tempered with caution and prudence. His administration of government was with wisdom, firmness and integrity. He was esteemed courageous, wise and pious. He was exceedingly beloved and venerated by the people in general, and especially at Milford where he resided." ⁴

The service rendered by Robert Treat as the chief founder has never been adequately recognized by the Newarkers of any generation since the first. They bestowed upon him the best that they had, when they conceded to him the unique privilege of selecting his home lot and one additional lot in advance of all others, the first to be eight acres instead of six as were those of the other settlers. That ground is worth millions to-day. It was a splendid gift, even at the time it was given. The city of Newark to-day can scarcely retain its self respect without erecting some handsome tribute to his memory. Treat's home lot was the southeast corner of Market and Broad streets, extending down Broad below the present First Presbyterian Church, and through the block to Mulberry street and up Market to the corner. His second lot was on the south side of Market, east of Washington. The Newark Schoolmen's Club, in 1912, unveiled a tablet in his honor on the Kinney Building, which stands on the corner of the Treat home lot. The money for the tablet was gathered in penny contributions from the children of the Newark public schools. The additional lot granted him was "for his expense with the Indians about purchasing."

THE REV. ABRAHAM PIERSON—While Robert Treat saw to it that the foundations of the settlement were laid deep and upon a sure and lasting earthly basis, it was Pastor Pierson who devised

⁴ Lambert's Hist. Coll. New Haven, pp. 100, 137.

and created the spiritual framework of this, the last Puritan theocracy. Treat was forty-one when Newark was begun, while Pastor Pierson was over fifty. He had had the advantages of a splendid education, for that day. Treat was a devout man, but intensely practical withal and with much of the genius of an engineer and remarkable in his skill as an organizer. Pastor Pierson was a power in the Puritan church, even in England, and was known throughout all of the New World where Puritan doctrines took root. He was a man of means for the times. His estate, when he came to Newark, was rated at £644, the largest among the settlers except that of Robert Treat, whose estate was fixed at £660. They were the wealthiest among the founders as well as the most influential.

Pastor Pierson was born in Yorkshire, England, and was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was in college with the great John Milton, and the companionship of men of such majestic mentality undoubtedly made its impress upon Pierson's whole life. He was a man of deep religious feeling and of high thinking. He was of the manner of men from whom martyrs, in his day and in other times, have been made, although it was not written in the book of fate that he should die a violent death for his faith. He strove with all the power that was in him to spread the Puritan doctrines. He is believed to have been ordained to preach before leaving England, at Newark-on-Trent. After preaching for a few years in his native country, he came to Boston. In 1640 he organized a church among the people of Lynn, Massachusetts, and removed with his congregation to Long Island, to where Southampton now is. Four years later he again moved, with part of his flock, and several families from Wethersfield, to Branford, called by the Indians Totoket. After a pastorate there of over twenty years he departed with his people to Newark, reorganizing the church to meet the conditions of the new land, constructing the spiritual bulwarks of this new "Kingdom of God on Earth" with infinite care and with an enthusiasm that would indicate he almost felt that at last a way had been found to

build up a community in this naughty world where sin could not enter in.

He was a man of erudition, and at his death had a library of four hundred and forty volumes, valued at one hundred and forty pounds; beyond a doubt the largest in both East and West Jersey at the time. Many of these books he bequeathed to his son, Abraham Pierson, Jr., who became the first president of Yale College, and there are good reasons for believing that some of these volumes from the old Newark pastor's library found their way from the son's hand into the little collection that made up the foundation of the present great library of Yale University.

Abraham Pierson was aglow with the missionary spirit and he strove with high-born zeal to lift the natives of the new country out of savagery. At the instance of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England "for carrying on and promoting the Gospel of Christ in New England," Pierson prepared a catechism in the language of one of the dominant tribes of Connecticut and New Haven colonies, which was long used by the missionaries, and which he himself used in preaching to the red men. It was printed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1658, by Samuel Green, and was antedated only a few years by the celebrated Indian catechism of John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," used among the Indians of Massachusetts.

There are but two known copies of the Pierson catechism in existence, both of different imprints, although possessing no variations except in the title page. One is in the British Museum and the other in the New York Free Public Library. Both were printed by Green. This work is believed to have been the first by an author living in either the Connecticut or New Haven colonies and printed in this country. A reprint of the original is in the New Jersey Historical Society's library.

On one occasion at least, when an agreement was to be made between the Indians and the Colony of New Haven, Pastor Pierson, with his converted Indians, performed important service in the capacity of interpreters. Pierson served with the Connecticut troops in the hostilities against the Dutch, as chaplain.

Pastor Pierson was a man of great influence throughout the entire New Haven Colony, by reason of his sincere and aggressive Christianity, which was in entire keeping with the Puritan spirit of the times; and because of his scholarship and his personal character he was known throughout New England as a "godly, learned man," and Cotton Mather said of him in his quaint fashion, "wherever he came he shone." He died in 1678 and was laid to rest in the old Newark Burying Ground. Many generations ago, over a century before the bones of the settlers were removed to Fairmount Cemetery, all trace of Pastor Pierson's grave had been lost—but one of many melancholy illustrations of the indifference of succeeding generations to the memory and achievements of their forbears who made their comfort and well-being possible.

JASPER CRANE—After Robert Treat and Pastor Pierson, Jasper Crane was the most forceful and useful man among the town builders. He was one of the oldest men in the entire group of colonists and was over sixty when he came here. He was born in Hampshire, England, and could trace his family back to the fourteenth century. He was one of the founders of the New Haven Colony and signed the first agreement to that end that was drawn up. He was one of the small company that signed the oath of fidelity at the formal organization of the Colony's government. He was a member of the general court of the Colony, together with Robert Treat. He was a magistrate in New Haven and, after removing to Branford in 1652, was chosen a magistrate there. He was deeply concerned in the removal to New Jersey, and it is significant evidence of his influence among the Branford group that he heads the list—even preceding Pastor Pierson—among those who signed the "fundamental agreement." His name was also first in the list of signers to the agreement for the organization of the First Church in Newark. Jasper Crane and Robert Treat were the first magistrates of the town. The former was a surveyor as well as a merchant and is believed to have been actively interested in the laying out of the original New Haven plot, locating grants, establishing division lines and settling dis-

putes over land titles. He undoubtedly had much to do, together with Robert Treat, in the layout of Newark's town plot, fixing street lines, lot boundaries, etc. He owned large tracts of land in and around New Haven.

Jasper Crane foresaw, like Treat, the inevitable departure from New England of the members of their particular Puritan persuasion, and he was a member of the New Haven Company that strove to establish a trading post and settlement on the Delaware in 1642, whose representatives were persecuted and driven out by the Dutch. He was one of the founders of Branford, as well as of New Haven and of Newark. He was one of the first deputies from Branford to the general court of electors, in 1653. He was one of the four magistrates for the whole colony of New Haven from 1658 to 1663, by appointment. His house lot in New Haven was at the corner of Elm and Orange streets, where the church of St. Thomas now stands. Oddly enough, his home lot in Newark, was at the corner of what are now Market and High streets, occupied to-day by St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Besides, he took up land at the head of Mill Brook, near the southern end of what is Branch Brook Park, purchased a large tract in what was called Barbadoes Neck (West Hudson) from the Kingsland family, and, with three other Newark settlers, acquired the land in the centre of what is now Montclair. He bought other properties in what is now Essex county. He had a numerous progeny, and so many Cranes made their homes on the land at the head of Second River, in what is now Montclair, that the neighborhood became known as Cranetown.

Jasper Crane was one of the first individuals to appreciate the value of New Jersey real estate, as the above paragraph shows. He regretted bitterly the failure of the New Haven Company's venture on the Delaware, "whereby," he said, "the gospel might have been published to the natives and much good done, not only to the colonies at present but to posterity."⁵

⁵ Rev. Charles E. Knox, in Shaw's "History of Essex and Hudson Counties," p. 890.

He was first on the list of deputies to the New Jersey General Assembly for a number of years. After the return of Treat to Connecticut, Crane was the first citizen, after the pastor. He, with Treat and others, represented the town at the solemn ceremonies upon Divident Hill, described in the preceding chapter. He was moderator of town meeting on a number of occasions. He was looked up to for his fair dealing. In those days barter played an important part in all business life, and the settlers often paid off their obligations to the town with goods. In 1670, as the Town Minute Book shows, Jasper Crane's half bushel measure was made the standard.

He was made a member of various important committees, including two appointed to confer with those of other communities in the province upon the advisability of sending petitions and protests to the Crown against the exactions of the Proprietors. With others he represented the town in the negotiations with the Dutch for the ownership of the New Barbadoes tract between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers. For fourteen years he was almost incessantly active in the town's behalf, when his strength began to fail him, and his three sons—John, Azariah and Jasper, Jr.,—took his place in helping, with vigor and success, to work out the town's destinies. Jasper Crane may be spoken of as a typical Newark founder. Deeply religious, and fearless in following out the dictates of his conscience in his religious life, he was a skillful and far-sighted town builder, working ceaselessly for the prosperity of the community and at the same time having proper care for the welfare of his family.

DEACON LAWRENCE WARD—Of the four founders of the name of Ward, Deacon Lawrence Ward was the most influential in the community's upbuilding. He was a ship carpenter by trade and came from England about 1634. He was one of those interested in the foundation of the New Haven colony, and took the oath of fidelity to its government and signed the "fundamental agreement" in 1639. He removed from New Haven to Branford at the time of the latter place's establishment. When the officers

of the Crown were searching high and low for the regicides Goffe and Whalley, he was commissioned to try and run them to earth, in the town of Milford. These sturdy men who had sat in the Court that condemned Charles I to be beheaded were in Milford at the time; they were, indeed, being secretly cared for by Michael (or Micah) Tompkins (or Tomkins), who later was to be associated with Ward in the founding of Newark. Lawrence Ward is believed to have been impressed into service, and it is enough to say that he not only did not find the fugitives, but that the Crown officials reported that he had made a most thorough search. Lawrence Ward was a member of the Colonial Assembly from Branford. He was the first deacon of the church upon its establishment in Newark. He died three or four years after the settlement of Newark.

JOHN WARD (Turner)—With Deacon Ward there came to Newark two of his nephews, John and Josiah, both of whom were forceful members of the community in its struggling days. John was one of the Branford signers to the fundamental agreement. To him fell much of the routine incidental to the making of the Newark settlement. He had much to do with the allotment and partition of lands. His home lot was at the corner of North Canal street and Park place. He was one of those chosen to see that the cattle were branded and to keep a record of the particular brands of the individual owners, a task of considerable importance, especially in the days before fencing could be provided.

John Ward and his cousin, John Catlin, were appointed a committee to consummate the actual purchase of the new Barbadoes Neck property between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers. He was always mentioned in the Minute Book as "John Ward, turner," or "dish-turner," indicating his trade, and to distinguish him from another of the founders, Sergeant John Ward. It is interesting to note that these two Johns had sons also with the name of John, who were distinguished as John Ward, Jr., and John Ward, turner, Jr. John Ward, turner, served as town constable in 1670, and may therefore be spoken of as one of the fathers of Newark's police force. He was a member of the board of select-

men or "town's men," as they were called. He was a "viewer" of fences, a "warner" of town meetings, and one of those whose duty it was to see that every settler turned in his quota of fire wood for the use of the pastor.

JOSIAH WARD—Josiah Ward was a brother of John, the turner, and therefore a nephew of Deacon Lawrence Ward. He also was of the Branford group, and it was he who is reported to have helped Elizabeth Swain ashore at the time of the landing of the Branford settlers.

John Ward, Sr., better known as Sergeant John Ward, was like John, the turner, active in the breaking of the ground for the new settlement.

MICAH TOMKINS—One of the strong men in the settlement was Micah or Michael Tompkins. The last name was varied to Tomkins, even in the early days. He was a Milford man, and the manner of man he was is strikingly shown by his having secreted the regicides, Goffe and Whalley, in the cellar of his Milford home. Had the agents of the Crown discovered the fugitives in Tomkins' keeping it would have gone very hard with him, as the stern old Puritan no doubt knew.

* "From their lodgement in the woods the judges [Goffe and Whalley] removed and took up an asylum in the house of Mr. Tomkins in the centre of Milford, thirty or forty rods from the meeting house." Robert Treat was one of the few who probably knew of and was in entire sympathy with Tomkins' courageous and humane act. "The family used to spin in the room above, ignorant of the Judges being below [in the cellar]. Judge Buckingham tells me this story, the only anecdote or notice I could ever learn from a Milford man now living. While they sojourned at Milford there came over from England a ludicrous cavalier ballad, satirizing Charles's Judges, Whalley and Goffe among the rest. A spinstress at Milford had learned to sing it, and used sometimes to sing it in the chamber over the Judges; and the Judges used to get Tomkins to set the girls to singing the song for their diversion,

* Stile's "History of the Three Judges of King Charles I," pp. 88, 89.

being humored and pleased with it, though at their own expense, as they were the subjects of the ridicule. The girls knew nothing of the matter, being ignorant of the innocent device, and little thought that they were serenading angels."

Micah Tomkins, together with Richard Lawrence, succeeded Lawrence Ward as deacons of the First Church. Tomkins was allowed additional land to his home lot, because he was willing to have it laid down at what was then held to be a considerable distance from the town centre. This was near the corner of what are now Elm and Mulberry streets.

SAMUEL SWAIN—Captain Samuel Swaine, or Swain, was a representative to the Assembly of New Haven Colony from Branford. He was several times chosen as "third man" or alternate to the New Jersey Assembly, from Newark. As such he represented Jasper Crane in the first General Assembly ever held in the Province of New Jersey. He was at first a lieutenant in the town's military government, and became the captain upon the return of Captain Treat to Connecticut.

HAUNS ALBERS AND HUGH ROBERTS—The first tanners in Newark were Hauns Albers and Hugh Roberts, who were among the Milford founders. The tanning industry thus began practically with the settlement, although these tanners only plied their trade for the benefit of the community. Azeriah Crane, son of Jasper Crane, and son-in-law of Robert Treat, was the first man to regularly set up a tan yard, in 1695.

STEPHEN BOND—Stephen Bond was a man of importance in Easthampton, L. I., being a magistrate there. Almost immediately after his removal to Newark with the other Milford settlers, he became a member of Governor Carteret's Council at Elizabethtown. He is believed to have been a blacksmith by trade.

OBADIAH BRUEN—Obadiah Bruen arrived from England in 1640 and first settled with the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. Later he lived at Gloucester, Massachusetts, and removing to the town of Pequot, was town clerk there for fifteen years, representing that place in the Connecticut Assembly.

JOHN CATLIN—John Catlin, a Branford man, performed services of greatest value in laying the town's foundations. In the early Newark records he is given the rare honor of the prefix "Mr." He was more than once a member of the board of selectmen or "town's men," and was associated with others in various important commissions. He was deeply interested in the cause of education and is believed to have been the town's first schoolmaster, keeping school in his own home, near the corner of Broad and Commerce streets, where the Newark Schoolmen's Club, in November, 1911, erected a handsome bronze tablet to his memory and to mark the school site. The tablet was unveiled by one of Catlin's lineal descendants, little Miss Margaret Catlin Parrish Franchere. Catlin returned to New England about 1681, and became one of the leading men in ill-fated Deerfield, Massachusetts. His wife and two of his sons were killed in the massacre of 1704.

ROBERT KITCHELL—Robert Kitchell was the most important man in the little group from Guilford. He came from England in 1638 with the Rev. Henry Whitfield and others, and it is believed they were on the first ship that ever anchored in New Haven Bay. Kitchell is therefore to be reckoned as of the very first group of the founders of the New Haven Colony. Just before leaving the ship, or immediately after, they drew up their Plantation Covenant and signed it, "intending by God's gracious permission to plant ourselves in New England, and we will, the Lord assisting, sit down and join ourselves together in one certain plantation." Robert Kitchell was the first to sign this document. He was representative to the New Haven General Assembly from Guilford. He was among the older men among the Newark founders, and is believed to have been a man of considerable education.

JEREMIAH PECK—Jeremiah Peck, of the New Haven group, lived in Guilford and later in New Haven. He taught school in Guilford and afterwards in New Haven, teaching Latin, Greek and Hebrew and preparing youth for college. If he taught school in Newark there is no record of it. He became a preacher and occupied a pulpit in Saybrook just before the settlement of Newark. He

was ordained a minister of the Congregational Church in Newark, in 1669, is believed to have later preached in Elizabethtown and is known to have later returned to Connecticut, being the first settled minister in Greenwich, Connecticut.

Additional information concerning the founders, including Thomas Johnson, Henry Lyon and others, will be found in the chapters immediately following, in the regular historical narrative.

ON THIS SITE
JOHN CATLIN
NEWARK'S FIRST SCHOOLMASTER
OPENED HIS SCHOOL IN 1676, HOLDING
IT IN HIS HOME AS WAS THE CUSTOM
IN THOSE DAYS. BY VOTE OF THE
TOWN'S MEN HE WAS ENGAGED TO
"DO HIS FAITHFUL HONEST AND TRUE ENDEAVOUR
TO TEACH THE CHILDREN OR SERVANTS OF THOSE
AS HAVE SUBSCRIBED . . . ENGLISH AND ALSO
ARETHMETICK . . AS MUCH AS THEY ARE CAPABLE
TO LEARN AND HE CAPABLE TO TEACH THEM"
HE WAS A MAN OF MARK IN THE
COMMUNITY, SERVING AS TOWN'S ATTORNEY
AND LATER AS TOWN'S MAN
IN 1683 HE BECAME ONE OF THE EARLY
PERMANENT SETTLERS OF DEERFIELD, MASS.
WHERE HIS SERVICES GAINED FOR HIM
THE HONORABLE TITLE OF "MR."
HE WAS KILLED FEB. 29, 1704, IN THE
DEFENCE OF HIS HOME AGAINST AN
ATTACK OF FRENCH AND INDIANS.
HE WAS A GUIDE OF YOUTH
AND A LEADER OF MEN

ERECTED BY THE NEWARK SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB
NEWARK DAY, NOV. 6, 1911

THE CATLIN TABLET, AT BROAD AND COMMERCE STREETS
Erected 1911

CHAPTER VI.
ON THE GROUND—ALLOTMENT OF THE LAND.

During the first year the time seems to have been largely taken up with the preliminary work of town building, putting up a few rough houses and planting, caring for and harvesting what small crops they could. There were comparatively few on the ground for the first summer and there was no doubt much coming and going back and forth between Newark and the Connecticut towns. Not more than a week was needed to make the round trip, which was reasonably short for the standards of the day. The journey was neither difficult nor hazardous. The cattle and horses, swine, sheep, fowls, etc., were removed in small groups in sailing vessels as fast as proper quarters were prepared for them and there were sufficient settlers to look after them. The town was beginning to take some sort of crude form by the time all who may be termed the founders were here, in the summer of 1667.

THE ORIGINAL CITY PLANNERS.

They had by this time decided on the location of their principal streets, in fact the only ones for many a year: Broad street, which was known as "the main street" and which was to be eight rods wide; Market street, six rods, and Mulberry and Washington streets, four rods, but which for several generations were little less than lanes, and which were called "East back street" and "West back street" as late as 1800. In every instance the original widths of these streets has remained down to this day, with the exception of a single stretch of Broad street bordering Military Park and which was reduced in width early in the last century to allow for the sidewalk. As any observer can see, the street is narrower from what is called "Canal bridge," just above the Post Office, to Trinity Church. The eight rod width of the settlement's principal thoroughfare was quite commonly used by the Puritans in their New England towns, although it seldom survives to-day except in such as have grown but little.

With most admirable skill, which entitles them to be considered city planners of eminence for their day, they relieved the main street (Broad) with little commons or plots set apart from

lot holders and dedicated to the use and enjoyment of all the people; at South Park, to which they gave no name, as it was for a long time just without the southern boundary of the village; at the Training Place, or Military Park, and at the Market Place, Washington Park. The two last named were most logically chosen. Military Park marked the first curve in their long, broad, main highway, and it curved here because it followed, no doubt, the lines of least resistance over comparatively level ground and conformed to the bend in the river. At the Market Place a triangle was made by the intersection of the "west back street" (Washington) meeting the main street in front of where the Free Public Library now stands.

ENCOURAGING THE INDUSTRIES.

On the river bank, at Bridge street, as it now is, directly east of the head of the Market Place, they set aside a plot, known as the Boatman's Lot, where the settler who looked after the meagre traffic and transportation of the town's goods was to live and do his business and which was within easy distance of what was at first intended to be the town's business centre, the Market Place. It was reached by a lane from Broad street and was never more than a cart path until the first bridge was built, in 1792.

A Seaman's Lot was also set apart and it took up a goodly portion of the river front from what is now Centre street to where the Pennsylvania main line tracks cross the river. The difference between the Boatman's and the Seaman's lots has not been adequately explained. The former passed out of the town's possession when the boatman was selected, and as for the Seaman's lot, nothing remains of it in the hands of the community except a small portion known as the City Dock.

THE WATERING PLACE.

It was necessary to fix some central spot where cattle could be conveniently watered, and from whence, if necessary, the people could draw their drinking water. This they fixed at what is now the apex of the triangle formed by the junction of Market street

and Springfield avenue, some little distance below where the Lincoln statue now stands, and to the south.

The Parson's lot was another reservation of lands upon which the home of the shepherd of the flock was to be reared, on the south corner of Broad and William streets, and where the parsonage stood until long after the War for Independence. Just when the parsonage was built is not known. Rev. Aaron Burr lived in it in the 1740's and 1750's. The first pastor, the Rev. Pierson, had his home lot immediately south of Robert Treat, on the east side of Broad street, starting about where the Broad street station of the Central Railroad of New Jersey now is.

The Meeting House Lot, with the Burying Ground to the immediate west, south and northwest of it, fronted on Broad street, where Branford Place now is. The Burying Ground plot extended nearly to Washington street for a time. On its northern border were two ponds, while on the south the plot ran nearly to what is now William street.

All these lands had virtually been set aside during the first year. It had also been agreed that six-acre home lots should be given the first subsequent settlers proficient in the trades, such as tailor, cooper, shoemaker.

GENESIS OF THE "FOUR CORNERS" HABIT.

Already the men from Milford and the few who had come with them or who soon joined them, from New Haven and Guilford, in 1666 and early in 1667, had begun to group themselves about the southeast, southwest and northeast corners of what are now Market and Broad streets, at the never-to-be-forgotten "Four Corners"; thus laying the foundation, as it were, for the custom which has, after two hundred and fifty years, made it seemingly impossible for the city to divorce itself from the belief that it can have but one central and focal point, right there where the first two of the four original highways cross.¹

¹ A striking illustration of the town's conservatism appears in the following reference to the opening of Green street in 1834, published that year in the Daily Advertiser: "This we believe to be the first and only street in a direct line, excepting only Market street, connecting the southeastern section of the town with Broad street."

The kind and character of the soil and nature of the vegetation, the sorts of beasts, wild fowl and fish, had been carefully inquired into, as well as the number, size, source and general direction of all streams and the area and location of the marshes. They had found the Indians not only peaceful, as they had been assured by the Dutch and by Carteret, but invaluable, in a way, since they told them all they knew of the entire region and taught them their own simple arts of husbandry.

Were they appalled by the tremendous stretches of meadowland? Not at all. Others might have been deterred from making their homes amid such great areas of swamp, but they were familiar with such territory as anyone who visits New Haven and its neighborhood, with its great area of marsh, will readily realize they must have been. Moreover, they saw in the miles of waving meadow grass unlimited quantities of salt hay to be had for the cutting, to be used as bedding for their beasts and in the early days for the cattle's food until the land should be sufficiently cleared to provide room for the extensive growth of blue grass and red clover. They began grading the hillocks and filling in the marshes as soon as they arrived, and this has been going on without interruption (except during the War for Independence) practically ever since.

THE WATER COURSES.

The Passaic appealed to them in all its natural beauty, and they rejoiced in it. But they saw quite as clearly its commercial value, most precious to them, too. It was in the beginning of the settlement their only highway, except for the Indian paths, out of the wilderness, and far surer and more safe should hostilities ever arise.

Several streams ran down the hillside from the present line of High street and beyond, draining the slopes as well as generous stretches of swamp in the gently rising region west of High street and Mt. Prospect avenue. It is an interesting fact that while but three of the many little streams which the settlers found within what are now the actual confines of the city, still remain visible,

those three are all boundaries of the city for greater or less distances. They are Bound Creek,² on the south, Second River on the north, and Meadow Brook on the west. Bound Creek, until long after the War for Independence, was large enough to accommodate fair-sized sloops which unloaded at a dock near the present line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. This was the largest of all the three streams that still remain.

Of all the streams that have vanished, the First River was the most important. It was formed by the junction of two brooks which met near what is now the southern end of Branch Brook Park, and it flowed almost directly east through a little valley about where Eighth avenue now is. One of the two brooks rose near where Sussex avenue and Fourth street now join, flowing east and north until it met the other branch. Its source was really in a number of springs, from which Newark's first water supply, to be conveyed to the people through pipes, was established, about 1800. The other brook, whose name has been given to the park, drained the region the park lakes now occupy. It is to Mill Brook, or First River, that Branch Brook Park owes its being to-day; for had it not been used for the public water supply the city would not have come into possession of much of the land which it later disposed of to the Essex County Park Commission.

The First River was at once recognized by the settlers as the most available for grist mill purposes. Two years after the settlement they began preparations for the erection of a mill which, however, did not really rise until 1671. The old Mill Brook or First River still courses along practically its ancient channel, although much shrunken and hidden from sight. In 1861 the section of the brook from High to Factory streets was arched over and the land filled in above the arch. Other portions were enclosed from time to time. The last section was covered in 1890, to form the approach to the Clay street bridge over the river. From the earliest times of the white man's occupation, there was a bridge over Mill Brook where it crossed what is now Broad

² See Chapter I.

street. When the last was built no man knoweth, but the spot is still spoken of (in 1913) by older Newarkers as "Clay street bridge." But the old stream has virtually disappeared from Newark and may truthfully be considered as one of Newark's vanished waterways.

Second River forms the northern boundary of the city to-day and Meadow Brook, which flowed along part of the western boundary of the city, from Central avenue northward, was one of its chief tributaries. It began on the south side of Central avenue, between the first and second ridges west of Newark, and discharged into Second River a mile and a quarter from its mouth. Second River became a very important stream shortly before and immediately after the War for Independence, as traces of the old mills along its northern bank testify.

There is also Third River, the original northern boundary of the settler's purchase, which we know to-day as the Yantacaw,^{*} and it is the only one of the three existing water courses of which the original Indian name is preserved. It is to be regretted that the settlers did not retain the ancient names of the First and Second Rivers, but no trace of them can be found.

Of the water courses that have absolutely disappeared there were several of considerable importance.

A little stream had its source near the junction of Third avenue and Garside street, running down the hillside and crossing Belleville avenue between Taylor street and Third avenue, into the old Kearny Homestead property, where the handsome State Normal and Training School now stands. Turning sharply to the southeast here, it merged in the Passaic a little south of the foot of Fourth avenue. A short stretch of the stream's gully has very thoughtfully been preserved by the Newark Board of Education (in planning the establishment before the possibility of its becoming a State institution, was broached) in the sunken garden effect upon the Normal School lawn. Another rivulet flowed out of a pond that was a little back from the south-

^{*} See Chapter I.

west corner of High and Orange streets. It crossed Broad street near State street and entered a pond of considerable size on the edge of the Passaic. This pond was about midway between Clay and Crane streets. The first mentioned pond at High and Orange streets, in the second quarter of the last century, became known as Boyden's Pond, from the fact that Newark's famous inventor, Seth Boyden, at one time had his shop near it.

Newark's civil engineers in previous generations have been baffled by the fact that they found traces of another stream quite close to that just described, and which flowed in a general southerly direction. One map maker even plotted the two as crossing each other. It is now considered probable that the two streams emerged from Boyden's Pond as one and the same, and that this stream was divided through some peculiarity in the topography, on the line of Orange street, not far from Plane. The southern tributary flowed down the line of Plane street, to about Nesbitt street, down Warren street for about half a block, then southeast across Academy and Bank streets, crossing Market street at Washington street and joining Wheeler's brook a little south of Camfield street.

Of all Newark's vanished streams the most important, historically, was Wheeler's brook or creek. It started from the springs and spongy ground where the Essex County Court House now stands, and which also extended as far up as Springfield avenue. This was a marshy region of considerable extent. There were ponds near the foot of South Orange avenue, while further west, near where the old South Orange avenue reservoir still stands, and extending for a distance north and south, were the "Magnolia Swamps." Civil engineers and surveyors who have given careful study to all existing traces of the city's old water courses have been unable to detect any direct connection between the "Magnolia Swamps" and the marshes in the Court House tract. Geologists, however, and others, whose researches sometimes stop where those of the surveyors begin, are strongly inclined to believe that ages ago, a stream of good size, large enough to be dignified with the name of river, flowed through the region here described, emptying

into the Newark Bay, possibly into the sea, along the line of Market street. In deep excavations, such as those made for the foundations of the Firemen's Insurance Company and Kinney buildings at the northeast and southeast corners of Market and Broad streets, and further west on Market street, sand that shows water influence is always brought up. It is quite possible, therefore, that Wheeler's Brook, the little stream the settlers found running down the hill from the present Court House region, was all that survived of an ancient, prehistoric river.

One of the principal tributaries to Wheeler's Brook, or to the marshes from whence it started, began somewhere in the neighborhood of Orange street, flowing in a westerly and southerly direction to Howard street and then into the Watering Place tract.

Wheeler's Brook ran down the south side of Market street until it developed into two ponds, one near the southeast corner of Market and Halsey streets, and the other just west of Broad street at its junction with Market. The first pond mentioned seems to have been the smaller of the two and it was filled in very early in the town's history. The other was spoken of in the old records as the "Frog Pond."

Broad street, along the greater part of its length from South Park to Washington Park, was somewhat higher in level than what is now Washington street, and from the Frog Pond, south, was a tiny valley, diverting the course of the stream from its hitherto easterly course, to one almost directly south. This stream drained the ponds and ran, one might almost say, parallel with Broad and Washington streets, crossing South or Lincoln Park (which was part swamp), and losing itself in the meadows. Traces of it are still to be seen east of the Pennsylvania Railway near Emmet street, continuing across the meadows to the Peddie street canal.

Discoveries made by city engineers early in the present century lead to an apparent explanation of the oft-repeated story that there was once a brook running along the south side of Market street east of Broad street and finding its way into the marshes just east of the present site of the Market street station of the

Pennsylvania Railroad. Excavations made for city work have revealed traces of a stream near Halsey street and Maiden Lane and indicating that a tributary of Wheeler's Brook ran east from that point near the southern end of the Old Burying Ground, then northeastward, crossing Broad street and finding its way into what is now Market street, a little west of Mulberry street. There are traditions of a bridge over this brook at Market street, about Mulberry street.

The exact location of the principal pond at Market and Broad streets was fixed late in the last century by Harrison Van Duyne while engaged in gathering data for use in the celebrated First Church Burying Ground case. He found the pond was longer than it was wide; that its greatest width was east and west, and that its greatest dimension was approximately one hundred and fifty feet. Mr. Van Duyne unearthed several tree trunks, the last relics of trees that no doubt once stood upon the banks of the pond.⁴

⁴ Fortunately, a good description of the character of the ground in the immediate neighborhood of the First Church building (which stood where Branford place and Broad street now meet) is preserved, in the so-called Century Sermon, by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Macwhorter, the intrepid pastor of the Newark flock at the time of the War for Independence. It is in part as follows: "Behind it [the church] and between that and the hollow or swamp, upon the brow of the hill, was the old, or first, training ground. Beyond the hollow or swamp was the burying place, on a rising knoll or tongue of land, which divided this from a greater swamp or pond [the farthest west of the two ponds, probably] westward of which the land rose into another hill, then presently sunk into a flat or brook called the "watering place." This last hill was the original burying ground; but long since, more than one hundred years ago, [and the Century Sermon was preached in 1790] it, some way, became private property, has been occupied and cultivated as such, and not a trace of the cemetery there remains."

This establishes the fact that the "Old Burying Ground" was not the original burying place and that the latter was several hundred yards further west. It received the bodies of those first to die in the hamlet, and in all probability contained very few.

The Sermon further says: "[It was] poor land, chiefly swamp, comprehending three small knolls of high and dry land fit for a cemetery. The western knoll of the three was early relinquished as a burying place, for what reasons not now known, though a number of the first dead were buried there. This knoll is not so much as claimed by the Church, though the swamp or pond, which divides it from the next knoll eastward, is."

We can readily gather from the above that many a hillock and other rough place in the centre of the city was leveled down or filled in early in the town's history, for all traces of the hills Dr. Macwhorter speaks of disappeared many generations ago.

Another of the vanished streams of Newark is Hayes' Brook. This was a branch of Bound Creek. Its source was near South Orange avenue. A branch joined it near West Kinney street. It closely followed the line of Peddie street, Badger avenue and Boyd street. On this rivulet was a mill, which stood immediately west of Elizabeth avenue, opposite the old Almshouse (1912). Although long deserted, the last vestiges of it did not disappear until about 1900. There was a bridge over this stream across Clinton avenue, near Elizabeth avenue, in use early in the last half of the last century.

There was also a branch of Hayes' Brook, starting near West Kinney and Broome streets, flowing south and crossing Clinton avenue near Wright street, joining the main stream just west of the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks.

THE PASSAIC; AN OLD-TIME DESCRIPTION.

Besides the streams mentioned above, there were two or three other smaller ones, draining the High street hillside, and whose exact locations are practically lost. There were many small ponds, too, gleaming and sparkling in the sunshine of that May morning in 1666 when the pioneer settlers, cruising slowly up Newark Bay and into the river, gazed upon the beautiful prospect.

It is not possible to leave the subject of Newark's water courses without some description of the Passaic, which, although it flows by Newark territory for but a very small proportion of its length, has had a tremendous influence upon Newark's welfare from the beginning. A most excellent description of the Passaic was written about 1834 for "Gordon's Gazeteer of the State of New Jersey," and it is given below:

"This stream is endowed with a very singular character. Rising in and flowing through a mountainous country, it is the most crooked, sluggish and longest of the State, and presents the two most profound cataracts, and the greatest hydraulic force. Its extreme source is near Mendham, Morris county, where its head waters interlock with those of the north branch of the Raritan. Thence it flows a little east of south about 10 miles, in which distance it has considerable fall, turns several mills, and forms

the boundary between Somerset and Morris counties; thence, turned by Stony Hill of the former county, at the north base of which it receives Dead River, it assumes a northeast course by the foot of Long Hill, dividing Morris from Essex county.

"On this line for 20 miles it steals its way, partly through a narrow vale and partly through a broad valley, with scarce a ripple or a murmur to indicate its course; and consequently with few mill-works of any kind. At the southwest point of the Horse Shoe mountain it receives the Rockaway River, which, having had for many miles a rapid, spirited and useful course, assumes the torpor of its recipient and spreads itself as if seeking rest after its hurried flow and mighty labors.

"Collecting its waters, the united stream meanders along the curve of Horse Shoe Mountain about 8 miles, when, deflected by the northeastern point, it inclines to the Second Mountain, still preserving its monotonous and sluggish character. But in its way through the mountain that character is suddenly changed for high and admirable energy. By two perpendicular leaps and a rocky rapid it descends, at the Little Falls, 51 feet in the distance of half a mile, into the valley north of the First Mountain.

"The first fall has a comparatively gentle and certainly a very beautiful appearance. It is 10 feet deep and more than a hundred yards broad, and has been artificially formed into a broad angle opening down the stream, over which the whole river, but now still and lifeless as a sea of glass, is precipitated in two broad and dense sheets * * * and then, hastening rapidly away beneath the bold and lofty arch of the aqueduct of the Morris Canal, as if regretting and gladly seeking its broken quiet. * * *

"Between the Little and the Great Falls, a distance of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the river is broken by some inconsiderable ripples which afford sufficient fall for mills but do not much disturb the placidity of its course. But before the great leap it is again composed into a steady calm, as if concentrated for a new and more vigorous effort. Ere it reaches the perpendicular pitch, it rolls over the artificial dam, erected by the Passaic Manufacturing Company, and a low ledge of rocks; and then pours itself in one unbroken column, 50 feet in altitude, into a deep and narrow chasm of about 60 feet in width; through which it dashes, foams and roars into a broad and still basin which it has excavated for itself. From this it roars impetuously by a rapid descent of 20 feet, beneath the level of Paterson plain, curbed by walls of trap rock and sandstone, whose loose and disjointed character has enabled the stream to excavate its passage through the deep chasm.

"From Paterson to the port of Acquackanonck, where the river meets the tide, its course is again sweetly still; and the tide waters of no river can present a more charming scene. The

shore, spreading like an amphitheatre upon either side, is covered with verdure and studded with dwellings and other monuments of successful industry, which give it the appearance of a highway through a thrifty village; whilst the clear and quiet waters tempt the spectator to venture upon their bosom.

"Few rivers present more attractions than the Passaic River between Paterson and Newark, above the marshes; nor are the charms of its beautiful scenery diminished by the sport which the stream offers to the patient follower of Izaak Walton in the finny tribe with which it is stored. From Acquackanonck to the head of Newark Bay the distance may be 15 miles, and thus the whole course of the river is about 70 miles, in passing through which it has looked to every quarter of the compass save the west."

Such was the Passaic River some sixty years before it began to show signs of serious pollution (1890), about the time Newark became a city (in 1836) and when the other communities along its banks were villages. No wonder all Newarkers and all dwellers along the river's banks spoke and wrote of it with enthusiasm.

ANCIENT FORESTS; KINDS OF TREES.

The town site was not densely wooded throughout its entire extent. One of the largest forests was unquestionably that which filled a goodly portion of the Hackensack and part of the Newark meadows. It was of cedar and was partly destroyed by the advance of the salt marshes ages ago. It lay directly west and southwest of Snake Hill and it was thick enough to afford shelter for bandits along the line of the Turnpike early in the last century, when it was cut down to destroy the cover for the outlaws who there lay in wait for foot travelers or for insufficiently guarded coaches. In some sections the forest was so dense, at some early period, that engineers inspecting the meadows have found it difficult to run down a rod in the marsh without striking a log. Stumps of trees are still visible. Mention is made of these forests in a State geological report for 1868, as follows:

"The marshes about the mouths of the Passaic and Hackensack rivers are filled with the remains of cedar timber; and every traveler who crosses them by any of the railroads going to New York can see the timber in the ditches, the stumps standing in the meadows and occasionally a log projecting from the mud. In

addition to this, stumps can be seen almost down to low water mark in the hard earth along the Newark Bay shore, between Bergen Point and the mouth of the Hackensack; and farther up the valley, north of the Erie Railroad, there are cedar swamps in which the gradual dying out of the trees is seen to be now in progress."

The settlers found no pine trees in their territory. There was an abundance of other varieties, however, including the following: oak, red, white and black, and the pin oak (which derives its name from the fact that it was used for making pins, used in fastening beams in house frames and for other similar purposes) which grew on the edges of the swamps; chestnut, hickory, several varieties of the elm, beech, black and white birch, black and white ash, tulip, maple, including the sugar maple, from which the settlers made molasses; sycamore, often of great size; both the sweet and bitter gum; dogwood, cherry, persimmon and wild apple. Many small fruits are believed to have been native to Jersey soil and to this region, including grapes, plums, raspberries, strawberries, currants, mulberries, peaches, persimmons, apples and quinces.⁵

THE WILD ANIMALS.

The only wild animals that gave the founders serious concern were the wolves. There were lots of them, and they were a great pest, ravaging the crops, destroying many of the smaller domestic animals and sometimes menacing the people, while their howling made the night hideous, at times, for a generation or more after the settlement. Their shining eyeballs were often seen gleaming through the chinks in the houses, and their prowlings often set the livestock in the tightly locked barns and outhouses in an uproar. One of the first items in the Minute Book is this: "The Town agreed that any Man that would take Pains to kill Wolves, he or they, for their Encouragement, should have 15s for every grown Wolf that they kill, and this to be paid by the Town Treasury." In 1680 the bounty was raised to 20 shillings and

⁵ Wickes' "History of the Oranges."

later lowered to 12 shillings. Rattlesnakes and copperheads, still to be met with in the northern part of the State, were a constant menace to Newark's settlers.

There were bear, elk, deer, panther, fox, coon, beaver, otter, as well as the muskrat and other small animals. It is a remarkable fact that red foxes were found in the Newark meadows as late as 1906 and one was shot in Weequahic Park a few years later by a park policeman. A bounty of ten shillings was offered in 1680 for the head of every full grown bear and five for that of a cub. But bears were not nearly so troublesome as the wolves. Bears were occasionally seen during the first years of the last century. Deer were often seen from the very doors of the houses in thickly settled sections until 1800, and for a short time thereafter. There was plenty of sport for the hunter in Newark throughout the first quarter of the last century.

LAND READY FOR THE SETTLER.

The Newark territory presented no great natural difficulties to overcome, as the pioneers viewed it; for to them the meadows seem to have been no drawback, and there were no sterile sections, no high mountains, no cliffs, ravines or other disturbing features. All seemed ready to their hands for comparatively swift development to their uses. The topography of Newark has changed but little by man's touch in two hundred and fifty years. The minor roughnesses have, of course, been levelled to meet the needs of the growing community, but the actual elevations remain much as they were, except for the filling in of the marshes here and there within the city proper and upon its eastern edge. The highest elevation to-day is 228 feet above sea level at the corner of Lenox avenue and Geneva street, in the Vailsburg section, and it was probably the highest when the settlers came. Previous to the annexation of Vailsburg the highest point was at the corner of Fifteenth avenue and South Fifteenth street—223 feet. The highest elevation east of the Pennsylvania Railroad is thirty-one feet. The corners of Market and Broad street are 30 feet above sea level.

APPORTIONMENT OF THE LAND.

In the apportionment of land among the settlers, a system practically identical with that practiced in the New Haven and Connecticut colonies was used. There were three great divisions of the ground, by lot, with a new drawing for each, and each partition was made with marked solemnity and after prayer to the Almighty for guidance. And, indeed, it was a time for solemnity, this taking possession of the soil by the individual. It was to be theirs, and that of their heirs and assigns, forever; well-nigh free, they believed, from all the grinding oppression with which they and their immediate progenitors were all too familiar in England. They stood ready to fight for it, and to die for it as not a few of their descendants did in the War for Independence. They were already apprehensive, no doubt, of interference with their title by the Lords Proprietors, and they were in no lightsome mood when they assembled to take each his share of ground upon which to build his permanent home.

The formal and final apportionment of the first range of lots, the home lots, did not take place until all who were to be considered the first settlers or planters were on the ground, or had somebody here to represent them, which was in the early summer of 1667. It was agreed before the drawing of home lots took place that those previously on the ground should select their holdings in the same quarter where they had first set themselves down. Another preliminary agreement was that to Captain Treat should be given the distinguished and unique honor of selecting his home plot before everyone else and without any drawing by lot, and that while all the others were to be restricted to six acres, he should take eight. An additional portion was also allowed him. For the first, his home site, Captain Treat selected the southeast corner of Market and Broad streets. For the second plot he chose one fronting on Market street, immediately west of the "Frog Pond" and continuing west nearly, if not quite, to Washington street.*

* See Chapter V, "Robert Treat."



NEWARK OR PESAYAK TOWNE — 1666 — 1680

THE ORIGINAL TOWN PLAT.

The map given herewith and showing the town lots of the early settlers of Newark is reproduced from the drawing prepared at the time of the bi-centennial celebration of the settlement, in 1866, by Samuel H. Conger and William A. Whitehead, for the New Jersey Historical Society. It is believed to be practically letter perfect.

Southeast

- A. Robert Treat.
- B. Abraham Pierson.
- C. Robert Denison.
- D. Thomas Johnson.
- E. George Day.
- F. Nathaniel Wheeler.
- G. Joseph Riggs.
- H. William Camp.
- I. Martin Tichenor.
- J. Stephen Freeman.
- K. John Curtis.
- L. John Baldwin, sen'r.
- M. Thomas Staples.
- N. John Baldwin, jun'r.
- O. Michael Tomkins.
- P. Jonathan Tomkins.
- Q. Ephraim Pennington.
- R. Seth Tomkins.
- S. The Tailor's Lot.
- T. Thomas Pierson, jun'r.
- U. Samuel Harrison.
- V. John Brown, jun'r.
- W. Edward Riggs.
- X. Hugh Roberts.
- *Azariah Crane, Treat's son-in-law.

Northeast

- A. Laurence Ward.
- B. John Catlin.
- C. Samuel Kitchell.
- D. Josiah Ward.
- E. John Rogers.
- F. Robert Kitchell.
- G. Jeremiah Peck.

Southwest

- A. Meeting House Lot.
- B. Treat's Recompense.
- C. John Johnson.
- D. Parsonage Home Lot.
- E. John Brown, sen'r.
- F. Stephen Bond.
- G. Zachariah Burwell.
- H. Ephraim Burwell.
- I. Thomas Ludington.
- J. John Brooks.
- K. Thomas Lyon.
- L. Joseph Johnson.
- M. John Treat.
- N. Samuel Lyon.
- O. Henry Lyon.
- P. Joseph Walters.
- Q. Samuel Camfield.
- R. Robert Dalglesh.
- S. Francis Lindsley.
- T. Mathew Williams.

Northwest

- A. Samuel Swaine.
- B. Robert Harrison.
- C. Edward Ball.
- D. John Morris.
- E. John Ward, sen'r.
- F. Matthew Camfield.
- G. John Gardner.

Northeast

- H. Jasper Crane.
- I. Thomas Pierson, sen'r.
- J. Benjamin Baldwin.
- K. Thomas Ludington.
- L. Alex. Munroe.
- M. The Elder's Lot.
- N. John Ward, jun'r.
- O. Richard Laurence.
- P. Delivered Crane.
- Q. Hans Albers.
- R. Samuel Rose.
- S. The Miller's Lot.
- T. Samuel Dod.
- U. Daniel Dod.
- V. The Corn Mill.

Northwest

- H. Obadiah Bruen.
- I. The Seaman's Lot.
- J. Thomas Richards.
- K. John Harrison.
- L. Aaron Blatchly.
- M. Stephen Davis.
- N. Samuel Plum.
- O. John Crane.
- P. Jonathan Sergeant.
- Q. Robert Lymon.
- R. John Davis.

The above list shows all these to whom home lots were apportioned from 1666 to 1680, inclusive. Many of the second generation are represented, some of these indicated by "jun'r."

Thomas Blatchly and Ebenezer Camfield did not have home lots, if the old Minute Book correctly sets down the several holdings. It is thought that Blatchly did not adhere to his original intention of settling here.

Daniel Tichenor and Azariah Crane seem to have drawn their home lots by proxy, as they did not become settlers until some time later.

It is a noteworthy fact that a portion of at least one of these home lots still remains (1913) in the hands of the descendants of the founder. This is Lot No. 10, of the Branford group, located on Washington street, west of Washington Park, and now occupied by Marcus L. Ward (1913), who thus lives on the spot where his ancestor, John Ward, senior, the first settler to hold the office of sergeant in the military organization of the community, reared his dwelling. The building of the Newark Young Women's Christian Association, by the way, which stands just south of the Ward residence, is on a portion of the plot set aside by the founders as "The Elder's Lot," but which was never assigned to an elder and was disposed of in small plots to several different settlers.

It will be noted that in the drawing many more highways are given than the four original thoroughfares mentioned on a preceding page in this chapter. These additions were made within a few years after the settlement to meet the needs as they occurred. It is interesting to note, too, that the line of the common fence was practically parallel with the present Pennsylvania railroad tracks, and but a few yards east of them. The home lots were therefore confined within an area that may be closely described as bounded on the east by the present line of the railroad and the Passaic, on the south by Tichenor street and a single row of six lots running south from Lincoln Park, on the west by High street, and on the north by Second and Passaic rivers. It was but a modest proportion of the entire vast tract, bought from the Indians, and it left a magnificent area for growth.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF REAL ESTATE.

The regular and formal divisions of the land were: First, the partition of home lots to the original first settlers or founders; second, in February, 1667, the assignment by lot of "upland in the neck," meaning land east of the home lots, with a further partition of marsh, spoken of as "meadow," in January, 1669; third, in February, 1670, a second division of salt meadow; fourth, May, 1673, a partition of upland, principally to the west and north of the town proper. These allotments were virtually in three divisions or ranges, for the third was but an additional assignment of meadow land, a sub-division. The entire territory was divided into what were called three "ranges": the home lots, the marshes and the remainder of the purchase from the natives. In the third division, young men in the town who had already acquired home lots by purchase or by assignment from relatives, were allowed to take part. All these partitions were determined by lot, a new drawing on each occasion. There was at least one other partial or minor division. For instance, it was found after the first partition of meadow, that there were thirty-one lots more than there were men to draw. So a new drawing was held until the thirty-one parcels had been disposed of.

It was out of the land that the town raised its first common fund, its treasury. Each and all of the settlers had to pay something for the lands they held as heads of families, and the common fund thus accumulated was called "purchase money" since it was used to defray the cost of the land as purchased from the Indians and to defray what other common expenses there were, such as for the transportation of Pastor Pierson and his goods from Connecticut. From the time of Pastor Pierson's arrival, his salary was a fixed charge upon the town. The rate of payment was put in the hands of a committee of seven, as follows: "Mr." Robert Treat, [Deacon] Ward, Samuel Swaine, "Mr." Camfield, Michael Tompkins, Richard Laurence and Joseph Walters, and five of whom shall have power to act herein.' The settlers were allowed a generous period in which to pay.

THE FIRST TAX BOARD.

To this committee fell one of the most important of all the duties of the early settlers, the valuation of the property, the fixing of the assets of every head of a family and freeholder. This was done according to the following rule, as laid down at town meeting:

"And for their [the committee's] Direction therein, the Town saw cause to allow and pass upon every Head of a Family, or that takes up Allotment in the Town, to be valued at £50, and for every Child or Servant in the Family besides, Ten Pounds by the Head, which shall be allowed as good Estate; and for all other kinds of Goods and Estates, real and visible, that Men intend, God willing, to transport on the Place, the Town wholly refers themselves and the sole determination into their Hands, according to whose Judgement it shall stand—which being done the Town saw Cause that One Third Part of every Man's Estate in generall through the whole Town should be deducted, and according to the Remainder both the Charges and Divisions of Land should be proportionated for this year (1667)."

Your financial obligation in the settlement was thus regulated by the value of your estate. In such fashion was the work laid out for Newark's first tax board. It is to be noted, too, that in that day they did not see fit or proper to tax a man upon the full and

' Minute Book, page 7.

true value of his estate, although, like all other Puritans they were almost morbidly anxious to follow the dictates of their consciences in all their dealings with God or man. It was a shrewd and sound basis upon which to begin the actual construction of the community, and it embodied some of the best principles made use of by the Puritans throughout New England.

THE ORIGINAL RATINGS.

Fortunately we have preserved to us the actual list of ratings made by this committee of seven, or "Sale Men," as the old records call them. It is spoken of as a "sure list of every man's estate," and as it seems to have met with no objection on the part of individuals, we are safe in believing that all felt that their valuations were just and equitable. Opposite each man's name was set the value of his estate in pounds, and against that sum the two-thirds upon which he was to be taxed. There are sixty-six names in all, with many curious variations in spelling, leaving one to infer that the men themselves did not always spell their names the same way—which indeed was a fact with no less a personage than the pastor, himself, who at times wrote "Peirson" and at others "Pierson." It is interesting to note also that ten of the sixty-six are given the title of "Mr.," one of honor and distinction; and while some of those of the largest estates received it, some of those with the least of this world's goods enjoyed it also. Some of those rated did not actually join the settlement, and a very few did not sign the "fundamental agreements," for reasons not explained.

According to careful calculations^a the pound in Colonial money about the time of the settlement of Newark was about equivalent to ten dollars of present money in purchasing power. Making use of this unit, it is easy to convert the total valuation of each settler's estate into its present-money value, by simply adding one cipher, and the reader may at the same time see what the estates were in the original valuation by dropping it. The grand total is about \$175,000.

^a Made by F. S. Crum, assistant statistician, Prudential Insurance Co., 1913.

VALUATION OF SETTLERS' ESTATES.

John Browne	\$3080	Edward Riggs	\$3200
Mr. Matthew Camfield	5000	Zachariah Burwell	1600
Stephen Davis	2890	Ephraim Burwell	1500
Nathaniel Wheeler	1860	George Day	1200
Thomas Luddington	1220	John Brooks	800
Thomas Richards	1100	John Harrison	1200
Thomas Lyon	5700	John Rogers	3500
William Camp	2200	Mr. Jeremiah Peck	2000
Robert Denison	3000	Mr. Robert Kitchell }	7500
Thomas Johnson	4200	Mr. Samuel Kitchell }	
Martin Tichenor	1690	Richard Lawrence	2730
John Catling	3150	John Ward	3600
John Bostick	1600	added	500
John Ward, Junr.	2500	John Baldwin, Junr.	1450
Deliverance Crane	1000-1500	Hauns Albers	1000
John Curtis	1900	Samuel Camfield	1740
John Baldwin, Sen.	1370	Samuel Rose	2500
Joseph Walters	1800	Mr. Obadiah Bruen	2000
Micah Tompkins	2600	Mr. Morris	3850
Jonathan Tompkins	1660	Robert Dalglesh	1670
Ephraim Pennington	1500	Aaron Blatchly	1800
John Crane	2500	Stephen Freeman	4400
Edward Ball	1600	Thomas Staples	1500
Ser. Richard Harrison	4000	Lieut. Samuel Swain	5500
Lawrence Ward	3700	Thomas Huntington	3500
Francis Linle	2100	Stephen Bond	1400
Mr. Jasper Crane	5700	Benjamin Baldwin	1200
Mr. Abraham Peirson, Sen.	6440	Alexander Munrow	1000
Hugh Roberts	4460	John Browne, Junr.	2500
Josiah Ward	2500	Mr. Abraham Pierson, Junr.	3800
Thomas Peirson	2000	Daniel Dod	1500
Mr. Robert Treat	6600	Jonathan Sergeant	1500
Robert Limon	2850	Samuel Lyon*	2250
Samuel Plum	5000		

LATER ALLOTMENTS.

While every settler, with the exception of Captain Treat, got the same area for his home lot, all other divisions were made on the basis of their ratings. In the second division, that of the

* Samuel Lyon's actual estate is omitted from the old record, but as his two-thirds is given it is practically certain that the whole was omitted by error.

"uplands in the neck," Captain Treat asked that he be allotted a considerable tract near his eight-acre home lot, and was unanimously granted this by the town meeting. The others received three acres for every hundred pounds of their two-thirds rating. This system of land apportionment prevailed in both the drawings for meadow land, save that Captain Treat no longer received special consideration.

But when it came to the drawing of upland, beyond and largely to the westward of the town proper, it was decided that each freeholder might, if he saw fit, take up sufficient property to make his total landed estate one hundred acres. He could take it all in one parcel, if he desired; but if he wished to have it in different sections of the town's lands, he was permitted to draw for but one parcel at a time, waiting until everyone had had one drawing before coming up for his second parcel, and so on. This prevented any man who might be fortunate in getting a low number, from selecting several of the choicest spots. It was a veritable lottery, of course, as we see it to-day, but it was the best system that they could devise at the time and there was a strong savor of democracy about it, nevertheless. It was the old Puritan method of fighting monopoly.

The town's first treasurer, Henry Lyon, was not appointed until 1668, to serve for a year, and at the same time Thomas Johnson was chosen as rate or tax gatherer, the tax to be paid in half-yearly payments, "in any current pay that will pass and is accepted between man and man."¹⁰

THE FIRST ASSESSMENT.

The first assessment was for two hundred and forty pounds, eighty of this being the amount it was agreed, in 1668, should be paid to Pastor Pierson for the previous year, 1667, and the remainder, one hundred and sixty pounds, to defray the town's running expenses and to pay off part of the debt incurred in the purchase of the land from the Indians. Deacon Laurence Ward

¹⁰ Town Minute Book.

and Mr. Samuel Kitchell were chosen, in September, 1668, to determine the charge upon each hundred acres of land so far taken up, to meet the outlay of the £240. It was decided that the young men should pay 12 shillings for each home lot that they acquired and also a sum not mentioned in the Minute Book, for such cattle and other livestock as they might possess, this money to go into the £160 fund for paying the town charges as already described. As for the young men's part in the £80 for the minister, they were to give what they could. From this it appears that the founders had a rate of their own and that the younger men, in most cases sons of the founders, were made to bear a lighter burden.

In 1669 an exhaustive system of rating, so as to derive the minister's stipend for the year, was drawn up. It is quaint and most interesting: "For every male person, not freed or disabled to a single rate, 1s. 4d. by the head, that is, 16 years and upward. For every acre lying in the Home Lotts under fence, 3d. by the acre; and for all other upland and meadow, lotted out and enclosed, 12d. by the acre. And for all horses and mares, 2d. by the head; and for all yearling horses, 1d. And for all oxen of five years old and upward at 6d. the head; and for all four-year-old steers at 5d. the head; and for all three-year-old heffers at 3d. the head; and two-year-olds at 2d. the head; and yearlings at 1d. And for all cows of four years old and upward at 3½ a head; and for all swine of a year and upward at 1d. And for all vacant or deserted lotts or lands * * * appropriated to the owners [who] dwell in another town, they shall pay Mr. Pierson's rate one-third as much as they did for the purchase of their lands one-third."¹¹

The pages of the old Minute Book are thickly dotted with the individual transfers of land from one settler to another, and with the occasional apportionment of a home lot to a newcomer. There was much shifting about, and trading of portions of lots to adjust party lines, etc. All these details had to be taken up at town meeting and approved of before they became binding. Before any lots could be assigned it was necessary to lay out the principal

¹¹ Town Minute Book.

streets and in each subsequent lottery allowance had, of course, to be made for any new highways. The town also reserved the right to take ground from individual lots for drains or "gripes" and to preserve the water courses, the town to give full and proper satisfaction to each and every individual from whom it took land for the common use. All whose home lots abutted upon the swamps had to build their section of the common fence, a most important item, since it was by means of this fence that the cattle were kept from straying into the marshes and becoming lost. The building of other lines of common fence was accomplished in the same manner.

Another of the highly important early rules or ordinances, fixed at the time of the settlement, was that a settler must live on the land assigned him, with the greater part of his family, for two years, before he could dispose of it. Thereafter, he must first make a tender of sale to the town in general, and if the town meeting did not wish to take over the property, he might sell it to anyone whom the town might approve of. If the purchaser was not approved, the sale was to be null and void and the land was to be confiscated by the town, which was to pay a price fixed by "indifferent" (unprejudiced) men.

Sergeant John Ward and John Curtis are the first surveyors of highways of whom there is any record, although it is pretty certain that they had either been hard at work before their formal selection by town meeting in September, 1668, or others had done some of the preliminary work in determining the location of the main streets for which they are given no credit in the records. It is highly probable that Robert Treat and Jasper Crane played an important part in the administration of this land apportionment system in the beginning. Ward and Curtis were given full power to call upon the men of the community to do road work whenever they found it necessary.

CHAPTER VII.
THE HOME BUILDERS—EARLY TOWN ORGANIZATION.

held and they could not be certain of just where their holdings would be located. By the summer of 1667 they were busy upon their permanent dwellings. These were of logs, the frame being often of oak, of which there was an abundance, while cedar, drawn from the forest between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers, described in the preceding chapter, furnished excellent material for shingling. All the timbers were hand hewn, and not infrequently with considerable skill, as inspection of surviving fragments made by investigators many years ago, proved. Newarkers have been skillful handicraftsmen from the very beginning. The first saw mill, which stood on Mill Brook, was not erected until 1696, thirty years after the settlement, and if boards were used before that time they must have been brought either from New York or Connecticut, as there is no record of a saw mill in Elizabeth prior to the one in Newark. There was a saw pit here as early as 1672, near the present site of the postoffice from which boards may have been turned out, although not in any large quantity.

An excellent idea of how the English settlers began life in East Jersey is to be gained from a letter written by one of the original planters of Perth Amboy, in February, 1685, and we may be reasonably sure that the first Newarkers proceeded in much the same fashion:

"Upon the eighteenth day of November I and my servants came here to the woods, and eight days thereafter my wife and children came also. I put up a wigwam in twenty-four hours, which served us until we put up a better house; which I made twenty-four feet long and fifteen feet wide, containing a hall and kitchen both in one, and a chamber and study [both in one, also, no doubt], which we put up pretty well, (with pallisadoes on the sides and shingles on the roof) against Yuill [Christmas] on which day we entered home to it; and have been ever since, and still are, busy with the fencing. So that I hope to have as much ground cleared, fenced, ploughed and planted with Indian corn in the beginning of May (which is the best time for planting it) as will maintain my family the next year if it please God to prosper it. Robert Fullerton and I are to join for a plough this spring, consisting of four oxen and two horses. * * * I intend to build a better house and larger, and to make a kitchen of this I am in."¹

¹ Whitehead's "Early History of Perth Amboy," p. 62.

The process of early settlement was, therefore; first, the hut, lean-to or wigwam for the first pioneers; then the rough house for the first reception of the women and children, followed with a substantial and permanent homestead as soon as possible.

"A carpenter, with a man's own servants builds a house," writes another East Jersey settler, about 1680. "They have all the materials for nothing except the nails. The poorer sort set up a house of two or three rooms after this manner: The walls are of cloven timber about eight or ten inches broad, like planks, set one end to the ground [which explains the word 'pallisadoes' used in the previous letter and which means that the walls were like thick fences, the hewn logs placed upright] and the other end nailed to the raising, which they plaster within." This, according to still another writer of the period, was the style most commonly followed throughout East Jersey.

The most pretentious houses in New Jersey during the first quarter of a century after the beginning of the English settlements were undoubtedly those erected for the Lords Proprietors in the 1680's, at Perth Amboy, where it was proposed to establish a great city. Indeed, for some years it was confidently believed that Perth Amboy was destined to become the greatest seaport city on the whole continent. These houses, according to one letter writer, "are thirty feet long and sixteen feet wide; ten feet between joint and joint; a double chimney, made with timber and clay, as the manner of the country is to build."

As a rule, the first houses in Newark, after the "wigwams" of the first on the ground, had no cellars. An excavation large and deep enough to receive the household's supply of such vegetables as it was not advisable to store in the barns and other out-houses, being deemed sufficient. Rough stone, practically unhewn and drawn from the fields and woods, was used for foundations. The huge heaps of oyster and clam shells left along the bay and the sea shore by the Indians were levied upon in the making of lime for the mortar. The timbers and beams were usually fastened together with wooden pins made from the pin oak. Nails were scarce and were hand wrought; they were used in Newark as early

as 1668, however, as is proven by an item in the town Minute Book for that year, which tells of the town selling to Henry Lyon the home lot of John Gregory (probably the Gregory who accompanied Robert Treat on his first visit to this region to select the town site, and who did not come here for the settlement) for ten pounds, three pounds of which he was to pay in shingle nails, "as soon as he can, or to do his True Endeavour to get them."

It is possible that the town had a nail forge as early as 1669, as an item in the Minute Book for that year directs that each settler pay his assessment of nails for closing in the meeting house, to "Brother John Brownes as soon as he can." If the nails were really "made in Newark," and not bought in New York (by barter for farm products), we might date the first manufacturing done in the community from three years after the settlement. Unfortunately there is no full proof that the latter method of supplying the nails was not used.

The first Newark houses, after the "wigwams" of the pioneers, were for the most part of one story with an attic. A few were of two stories at the front and one at the back. They had, many of them, overhanging roofs. Sometimes the entire ground floor space was taken up with a single room. Here was the huge fireplace where the cooking was done and around which the family gathered in the evening, retiring at night to the close quarters of the attic and drawing the ladder up after them, the common custom among pioneers throughout most of the American colonies.

The fireplaces could accommodate great logs and sometimes these were hauled into the house by horses.² Newark's settlers, being most of them men of considerable means, for the period, no doubt brought considerable furniture with them from Connecticut which had originally come with them or their fathers from England. There was much home-made furniture, of course, and one of the most useful trees in the region was the bitter gum. As this tree reaches a ripe age it rots at the centre. It was cut by hand sawn into sections, the centre dug out and when plugged at one

² Wickes' "History of the Oranges," p. 41.

end these sections made excellent barrels, casks, dye-pots, etc. Vessels of this sort may be seen at Washington's headquarters in Morristown, and a very few are still in the possession of private families, heirlooms from their ancestors.

Seats, to be placed within the fireplaces, were always contrived, and the ever-present dye-pot furnished one, the lid or cover being the seat. The dyes were made from sumac and the bark of the black oak and chestnut trees, while some dyes were brought from New York in the very early days. These dyes were used for coloring the fabrics wrought by means of the spinning wheel and the hand loom, the former being an indispensable article in every settler's living room. This room served as kitchen and dining room as well. A few of the original planters possessed some silver for table use; pewter plate and cups were quite common a little later. Deacon Azariah Crane, son of Jasper, who died in 1730 at the age of 83, gave in his will "to the Church of Christ in Newark aforesaid, my silver bowl, to be used for the service of God forever, in the town of Newark aforesaid." This bowl is carefully preserved by the First Church to this day.

The settlers wore homespun, of necessity, and their descendants did likewise for a hundred years and more. Their linen was made from the flax (which they took good care to cultivate) by their wives and daughters upon their spinning wheels. Their other garments came from the wool of their sheep, which they brought with them from Connecticut or purchased in New York, and of which they had such generous flocks by 1704 that the town decided to hire a shepherd, chosen by four sheepmasters who were also to have general charge over the sheep, seeing to it that each planter had his animals properly branded. This last was also the case with all other domestic animals, since they grazed upon the common lands largely.

AN ALMOST IDEAL DEMOCRACY.

In some ways the town approached closely to the ideal democracy for several decades. Not only were one's taxes large or small according to his estate ("rating"), but the actual physical work

required from him and his male dependents between the ages of sixteen and sixty for the common benefit, was adjusted in the same way. The greater his land estate, the more fences was he required to erect, and the greater was his area of highway to build. The able bodied men were all told off into what we would call squads, and these were summoned on certain days to do their quota of work. At one time it was in building the common fence, at another the burning of the brushwood and the clearing of undergrowth, at another the "stubbing of the highways" (clearing the roads of vegetation of all sorts). Again it was the building of ditches in the marshes.

HOW THEY DID THE TOWN'S WORK.

The following digest from the Minute Book for June, 1669, explains the actual operation of the method employed in the ditching of the meadows, which was practically identical with the system used in all other public works: "Every man is required to work one day for each £200 of his [two-thirds] estate. Two rods in length is to be taken for a day's work. The planters are divided into two companies, of which Sergeant Riggs is to command one and Sergeant Harrison the other, [they lived at opposite ends of the town, north and south] and every man must set up stakes marked with the first two letters of his name at each end of his work, so that the Surveyor may know whether he has done his part, and how he has done it. The men are to come out and work in succession as they are called by their leaders, notice having been given the day previous." *

"Burning Day" was one of the great occasions of the year. For the children it furnished gratifying diversion, no doubt. The ridding of such cleared or sparsely covered land as was ready for it of all growth was a very important business, of such grave moment that the town appointed a special committee which decided when it was to be done and in what neighborhoods, avoiding dry spells of weather, when their infant settlement might have

* Stearn's "History of the First Church," p. 39. Note.

been swept away by their own torches, and noting carefully the direction of the wind so as not to endanger any building or planted field. The day selected, every settler between the 16-60 age limit was required to appear at beat of the drum, at the "common place of meeting" previously assigned, "and then and there come to an agreement with his neighbors as to the best manner of proceeding for the best good of the town." The torch must not be applied until the sound of a general drumbeat proceeding from the lower end of the town, at about Lincoln Park, up to the present Bridge street neighborhood, gave the signal. It is to be regretted that more details are not given in the Minute Book as to the precise method of controlling the fire when once started, and of quenching it when it had done the required work.

ON A MILITARY FOOTING—POTENCY OF THE DRUM.

Thomas Johnson was the town's first regularly appointed constable, selected in 1668, although there must have been very little for this, Newark's first police department, to attend to of the nature attached to that function of government to-day. After Captain Treat, he was one of the most efficient men among the founders. His son Joseph was the first town drummer. The town paid his father, for him, eight shillings a year for drumming. Joseph must have been kept quite busy, since the community was summoned by drum-beat for every doing of common concern. The drummer was a town officer and a person of considerable consequence. The community was really under a sort of martial law, with Captain Treat, two lieutenants, two sergeants, and later on two ensigns, as the military heads, clothed with the town authority to fine and to otherwise punish such as did not bend themselves to the will of the town meeting; or to mete out such discipline as was deemed by them proper until one or the other of the two magistrates could act, or until another town meeting disposed of the case.

No one was asked to do more than his share (fixed according to his rating), but that share he must render, or take the consequences, which in that rigid Puritan company were not likely to be gentle. There is no record of severe physical punishments, however. If there was a stocks or a whipping post, or both, the planters took care to keep all hint of them from their records. It is practically certain that such harsh disciplinary methods were not required. The townsfolk dwelt together in peace and amity for generations, correcting each other by means of fines, chiefly.

THE FIRST INN.

Newark's first inn or tavern was kept by Thomas Johnson, the constable. The job was first assigned to Henry Lyon, the town treasurer, but he does not appear to have accepted it. All settlers were prohibited from selling liquor but the innkeeper Johnson, "except in cases of necessity and that by license from a magistrate," says the old Minute Book.

Johnson is believed to have kept the tavern in his own home, which was near the corner of Broad and the present Walnut street, not far from, if not exactly on, the site of the present Grace Episcopal Church. The Minute Book calls the hostelry an "ordinary," using the expression of the day, and the prospective innkeeper was directed (in 1668) to maintain it "for the entertainment of travelers and strangers, and desired to prepare for it as soon as he can." The celerity sought may have been due to the fact that the first Provincial Assembly had directed that all towns establish "ordinaries," it no doubt being the intention of the Lords Proprietors to provide suitable accommodations for themselves, when on their visits of inspection over their domain. Thus early did the founders seek to control the sale of liquor. Any evil that might result from it would, by their system, be directly traceable to Mine Host Johnson's door.

BUILDING THE CHURCH.

The first church building was begun in 1668. It was always spoken of as the "meeting house," with all of the good old democratic significance of the phrase. Its construction was arranged

for at a town meeting in September,⁴ two years after the settlement, which no doubt indicates that the settlers were by that time more or less comfortably housed. There is no doubt but what church services were held in the homes of individuals from the very first. All the details for the church building, its dimensions, etc., are laid down with great particularity in the Town Minute Book.⁵

THE CATTLE POUND AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

It is impressive to note that at the very next town meeting the task of building of a cattle pound is taken up with fully as much seriousness and with almost as much exactness of detail as was required for the building of the church. It was located near the Frog Pond, which means that it stood either on Market street, east of Washington, or on the latter street near Market. Stephen Bond was chosen at the same time as the first "common brander in our town for all horses, according to our law for branding settled in our Province; and also to keep the records for the same for the year Insueing." John Ward held the same office with reference to cattle.

The pound was not completed until 1669, and we get a further insight into the reason for the shrewd old Puritans' apparent anxiety to have it in commission as soon as possible (and it was ready for use about as soon as the meeting house), from the fact that the owners of stray cattle had to pay a fine into the town treasury for each of their beasts impounded. It was one of the few comparatively certain sources of revenue that the town possessed, since the cattle were forever straying. The settlers were even required to set up poles and bushes at the foot of their meadow lots and in the water to prevent the swine from swimming around them into the lower river or bay. The first poundkeeper was Robert Denison, "and he is to have a penny by the head for

⁴ See the chapters on Churches in the present work; also Stearn's "History of the First Church."

⁵ "Meeting house" is an almost exact translation for "synagogue."

turning the key, or reception of any cattle trespassing, into the said pound." Poundage ran as high as five shilling per head, and as low as a penny, ranging from unruly horses and cattle to the shy and gentle sheep.

LADDERS FOR FIRE PROTECTION.

The wise old founders seem to have neglected no detail to insure the comfort and safety of the people. In 1668, for instance, the town directed that every man provide himself with a good ladder, within two months, or pay a fine of five shillings, "and so maintain the same under penalty of 1s. by the month." Thus were the first measures for protection against fire taken, for it goes without saying that the ladders were needed for the common safety against fire, as well as to safeguard the family against prowling savages or more pronounced attacks, in conveying themselves to their attics and other places of vantage. They were also essential in raising the roofs upon the framework of their buildings.

The first auditors of the treasurer's accounts (1668) were "Mr." Camfield and Thomas Johnson, the constable and innkeeper.

THE FIRST COURTS.

The two town magistrates held court twice a year, in February and September, "to hear and try all causes and actions that shall be necessary and desired within our compass and according to our articles [the "Fundamental Agreements"]; and that the same shall pass by a verdict of a jury of six men." This practice was inaugurated in 1668. A few years later courts were held quarterly.

PREPARING FOR COMMERCE.

It fell to the lot of John Rockwell to become the town's first boatman and to take up the lot set aside for this functionary, at the river's edge south from what is now Bridge street and six acres in area, "upon consideration that he doth this very spring season [1669] come and settle here in our town and maintain this or such like sufficient boat for the use of the town or particular persons in

the town * * * so long as the Lord shall enable him thereto." Thus was the commerce of Newark first provided for, and it may be added that its shipping was highly subsidized, as it was agreed that the town would "forbear him for some time the present rate of purchase money," for the land from the Indians.

THE TOWN'S MEN.

Although the New England town meeting form of government was in operation even while the pioneer settlers were on their vessels awaiting the perfecting of an agreement with the Indians in the spring of 1666, it was not until May, 1669, that the first body of selectmen, or as they were then called "town's men" or "townsmen" were chosen. They were Matthew Camfield, Sergeant John Ward, Richard Harrison, Sergeant Edward Riggs and Robert Denison. Their functions were those of a town executive committee, and their first duties were: to see that the meeting house was finished according to the specifications, to supervise the further erection of the common fence, the setting out of highways in the fields, the herding of cattle, etc. The number of selectmen was later increased to seven. This form of government continued until 1736 when the township of Newark was organized, the township officers being created by law. There was no further material change in the local government for the next hundred years, until the city was organized, in 1836.

By 1669 the land in the immediate centre of the territory was quite well taken up, and the town decided to ask Captain Treat to make a complete and exhaustive record of the entire real property distribution, and the treasurer was directed to procure him a suitable book in which to set it down. The book disappeared ages ago, if, indeed, it was ever prepared. In the same year the town meeting passed a rule definitely setting aside the various "commons" as "not to be disposed of to any man's property, without the consent of every free-holder or received inhabitant of the town." These parcels included South or Lincoln Park, Military Park ("that which lyeth in the middle street toward

the landing place") Washington Park, then the market place, and the watering place, southeast of the present County Court House.

EARLY INDIFFERENCE AS TO EXERCISING RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

Men were quite human in those days, as now. The settlers, intensely concerned as they were in every step taken for the upbuilding of the town, were many of them inclined to shirk attendance at town meeting. We groan to-day at the indifference of thousands to exercising their right of suffrage, but it is, indeed, an ancient failing. In the "good old time" of 1671, the town meeting of Newark voted that thereafter, until further order, twenty freeholders, together with the clerk and one magistrate, should constitute a quorum, with full powers. This, in effect, notified the voters that if they did not care to attend meetings things might be done of which they might not approve, but from which they would have no redress. All this did not have the desired effect and, in 1676, the town voted as follows: "Town meetings may be called by the town's men, and 24 hours shall be accounted legal warning. The drum is to be beaten twice in fair weather; the first drum is to be beaten as far as Sergeant Harrison's gate, and the second at the meeting house about half an hour after, at which every planter shall be at the place of meeting to answer to his name." Joseph Johnson, the drummer, probably started out thumping his drum from his father's home at Broad and Walnut streets. The half-hour interval between the first call and what was the virtual call to order of the meeting is significant, as it shows every settler was within easy half-hour walking distance of the meeting house. Johnson, the drummer, was 25 years old at the time, and lived to be 83.

If anyone was tardy he was to be fined six-pence. If he was absent half a day, the fine was fifteen shillings, while for a whole day's absence a half crown was the penalty. It did not at all suffice to go to the meeting, answer to roll call and then go back to your business, for a two-shilling fine was imposed if you left before meeting was dismissed. If you were absent for any part of the day you lost your vote, besides being fined.

This seems to have had a tonic effect upon the attendance, for three or four years; but it was found necessary to renew the above rule in 1680, 1683 and in 1690, which was done each time by a unanimous vote.

THE TOWN'S DEFENSIVE FORCE.

The first training day in Newark, of which there is any record and which means the first mobilization of the community's defensive force, including all able-bodied men between the ages of 16 and 60, was held on June 5, 1671, five years after the settlement. It took place in the rear of the church or meeting house, and not upon Military Park or Common, which the settlers had named the "training place," although it manifestly had not been cleared sufficiently to permit of its use for that purpose in 1671. The order was for "every soldier to appear at the beat of the drum, to show his arms and ammunition, and to spend that day in exercising their arms, as they shall agree among themselves." The fine for absence was 2s. 6d. The soldiers thus assembled were to divide themselves into squadrons, "for the carrying of arms to meeting, and warding on the Lord's days during the time of publick exercise; which is the town's mind and order, that it be strikly observ'd and attended." Captain Treat, who was town clerk and recorder as well as commander-in-chief of the military forces, probably put all the unction possible into the last phrase, for it was without a doubt left to him to express the meeting's idea in his own language.

THE FIRST GRIST MILL.

After the meeting house was built, and the cattle pound established, the founders turned their attention to the building of a grist mill. At first no one was ready to volunteer for the work and the town meeting formally asked Lieutenant Samuel Swain, who was a millwright by trade, to submit a proposition. It was agreed to pay him "twenty shillings by the week and three pounds for his skill," unless, as the Minute Book quaintly and

shrewdly puts it, "he shall see cause to abate it, which, if he should see cause to do, the town will take it thankfully." He agreed to "give his best advice about the building of the dam and leveling the ground as the town shall need him," and together with "Mr." Robert Treat, Henry Lyon, John Brown and Stephen Davis, the town's committee in the business, who were "to appoint and oversee the work, and that, as near as they can, in an equal and proportionate way, and to keep a clear and distinct account of each man's work and layings out about the work." Thomas Pierson and George Day were chosen to summon the men of the town to the Mill Brook at the proper time, to do the actual work of construction. A committee was also appointed to search the country 'round for suitable mill-stones.

Despite all these preparations, the work lagged for a year. The settlers were busy getting their own homesteads in order. They were practically all farmers and it was not easy for them to leave the fields at the beck and call of the committees, without great personal sacrifice. So it was arranged that Captain Treat and Sergeant Richard Harrison should construct the mill and its equipment and supply a miller who should "grind all the town's grist into good meal." Treat and Richards were to have exclusive rights to all mill privileges on the brook, with the guarantee of having all the town's grist to grind. The town was to aid them by giving them thirty pounds value in goods, sole possession of all timber and other material already prepared for the mill, and "two days' work of every man and woman that holds an allotment in the town." What the women lot owners did in the building of the mill does not appear; they probably hired men to do their share.

ROBERT TREAT'S LAST IMPORTANT SERVICE.

Captain Treat never failed the founders when they called on him, and it usually was his lot to unravel their hardest problems. Under his direction the mill soon became a reality. It was ready for business some time in the summer of 1671, as the following item in the Minute Book goes to show: "It is agreed that the 2d

day of the week and the 6th day of the same week and the next days if the town need and the work can not be well done on those days that are appointed and agreed upon by the Town Meeting and the owners of the Mill to be their grinding days, upon which days the Miller is to attend his grinding and the town are to bring their grists, and the Miller promiseth to do his * * * as for himself, secure the same [from damage or other loss] until it be inclosed and under lock and key."

The mill remained the property of Treat and Harrison for thirteen years, until 1684. Then, with the consent of the town, the property was conveyed to three sons of Sergeant Harrison, Samuel, Joseph and George, the father having bought Treat's interest. Captain Treat had long before this sale returned to Connecticut to grapple with far greater problems than the building of mills.

This mill was probably the "corn mill," for which a lot was set aside on the Mill Brook, at the junction of High and Clay streets. The Miller's lot, on which he had his home, was on the southwest corner of Broad and Clay streets. Two other mills were built later, in the neighborhood. It is significant that Azariah Bush [probably Beech], who was received in the town as a boatman, a little later than John Rockwell, was assigned a home lot close to that of the miller, as it was the intention, probably, that he should transport such grains as were intended for shipment, to New York, Elizabethtown or elsewhere, in his boat.

Within a year after the completion of the mill, Robert Treat bade farewell to Newark and returned to Connecticut, in 1672, so that its erection stands as his last conspicuous service to the community. No mention is made in the town records of his departure, although it is probable that the records of the First Church, which were destroyed during the War for Independence, no doubt contained some account of his formal leave-taking. If he ever again saw the little community for whose existence he was to so large a degree responsible, history does not disclose the fact. It is quite probable that he expected to return, since he was not formally dismissed from the Newark church until several

years after his departure. Just why he went, too, will probably never be known. One belief is that he was urged by persons high in power in Connecticut to give that colony his aid in meeting the difficulties consequent upon the rapidly growing unrest among the Indians and which was presently to culminate in the sanguinary King Philip's War; but no substantial proof of this is so far forthcoming. Certain it is, however, that he was almost immediately given one of the most responsible posts in the military organization of the Connecticut colony and from that time on was never free from the gravest responsibilities of state for many years.

Jasper Crane now became the leading citizen, and Lieutenants Samuel Swain and Thomas Johnson were, in August, 1673, named for the posts of captain, the intent of the town being apparently to have two thereafter, possibly because of there being no one man among them who could fill the place of Captain Treat, and partly perhaps because of the increasing fear of an Indian uprising in this section of New Jersey. Sergeant John Ward and Josiah Ward were nominated for lieutenants, at the same time, and Sergeant Richard Harrison and Samuel Harrison were named for ensigns. All were confirmed in office, as the Minute Book subsequently refers to them with their new titles.

APPREHENSION OF WAR.

While there was very little fear that the New Jersey savages, the Lenni Lenape, who were the friends and allies of the settlers, would become involved in the war now about to begin in New England, the white men knew the volatile nature of their dark-skinned neighbors, and they had some reasons for believing also that the fierce tribes in the wilds of Pennsylvania might sweep across the country, spreading terror and ruin. For September, 1673, we find this in the Minute Book: "It was also by the Magistrate's order published, that in consideration of the present danger and fear of what may further ensue, we do therefore require that every man in our town under sixty and above sixteen years of age, shall meet together with their arms well fixed, upon eight of the clock, on the first day of October, which is this day Sennight,

upon the penalty of five shillings. The ammunition for each man to bring with him being half a pound of powder and twelve bullets fit for his gun, or two pounds of pistol bullets, and upon that day the soldiers shall chuse the rest of their officers." The sum of thirty pounds was, a few days later, at another town meeting, set aside to meet public expenses, no doubt an emergency fund. For the town to hold town meetings within a week or so of each other was most extraordinary. Clearly, Newark was preparing for war.

FORTIFYING THE CHURCH.

In the summer of August, 1675, while the church was being repaired and strengthened, partly as a stronger citadel of defense, no doubt, the twelve men detailed each day to give that period to this work were directed to bring their arms with them.

The fortifying of the church or meeting house consisted of lathing the interior and filling in part of the space between this and the outer wall with thin stone. Flankers, or little towers, were constructed at diagonally opposite corners of the structure, in which men were to stand ward, while the others were at divine service, or town meeting within. Palisades or stockades were also constructed, but whether these were made to surround the entire structure, or simply placed around the flankers, the Minute Book does not make clear. The cattle that were accustomed to range on the meadows during the open season were brought in earlier in this particular year. The strengthening of the settlement's fortification continued for months thereafter. Early in 1676, the town ordered: "John Ward is chosen to procure a Barrel of Powder, and Lead answerable to it, as reasonably as he can, for the town's use; provided that the town pay him at once, within this week, in corn, fowls and eggs, or any way to satisfy him." Pastor Pierson, who was ordinarily exempt from most taxes, was specifically informed that he must pay his share, as this was evidently deemed a time of great public emergency.*

* The settlers were occasionally prodded by the Governor and Assembly to organize for defense, and Newark's alertness in this regard was no doubt in some measure due to this inspiration.

The possibility of war quickened the settlers along many lines. They now proceed, in 1676, to provide for the laying out of a highway and a landing place by the river. The highway was probably Centre street and the landing place was close to the very spot where the rapid transit railroad bridge now crosses the Passaic, and where the old Centre street bridge stood. This gave the people in the centre of the town the shortest and easiest access to and from the river. A line of retreat was thus prepared; and it was good generalship, even though, as we well know now, there was to be no war. Before the year 1676 was very far advanced, the war scare subsided.

EARLY PROTECTION OF SHADE TREES.

At the end of the first ten years Newark was beginning to take definite physical form; the people were becoming alert to improve its general appearance. Now began to appear the pretty little village that was to be the admiration of all travelers a little later. "The town," says the Minute Book, "seeing some trees spoiled in the streets by barking, or otherwise; the town hath agreed, that no green tree within the town as is marked with N. [for Newark] shall be barked or felled, or any otherwise killed, under the penalty of ten shillings so killed. The town's men are chosen to mark such trees as are convenient for shade in the town streets." Here we have Newark's first Shade Tree Commission work.

At about the same time, children above the age of fourteen were authorized to bring in stray cattle to the pound. In this year, 1676, the town laid its plans and apparently started its first school. John Catlin, one of the founders, was active in this work and is believed to have taught it. The settlers had conquered the soil; they now knew their town-building was a success, and they proceeded to make it a more comfortable abiding place.

QUARANTINE AGAINST NEW YORK SMALL-POX.

In 1678, the community took the first steps in its history to conserve the general health. There was in that year an epidemic of small-pox in New York. A special town meeting was called in

Newark and this edict adopted: "Upon a report that many are sick of the pox in New York, it is thought fit to prohibit persons from going thither upon every small occasion as formerly. The town has therefore chosen as a committee [its first Board of Health] Mr. Ward, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Swaine, Deacon Lawrence and Sarj't Harrison, to whom persons shall repair for Liberty; and this committee or any three of them to consider whether persons' occasions are of urgent necessity, and as they find, to give Liberty or prohibit. If any person or persons shall presume to go without approbation from some one of these three, shall forfeit the sum of 20s., to be distrained by the Constable."

The community, as has been said on a preceding page, was under a kind of martial law for a long time after the settlement; indeed, it was little short of imperative that it should be, and it is because of this swift-moving and absolute power of the people that the foundations were laid so quickly and so well. The above paragraph from the old records is illuminating, for it shows us that the habit of "running over" to New York was laid at the very beginning of things in Newark.

THE NIGHT WATCH.

The town became a little disturbed over another rumor of an Indian uprising in 1679, and the martial side of its government was quick to act, the town meeting adopting the following: "For the better security of the town it is agreed to have a watch kept in this town, three in a night, at some house appointed by the serjents, and one of the three to stand Centry, one at one time and another at another; and at the break of day or thereabouts all three of them to be walking, that if there be Danger it may be timely discovered and prevented, and about half a hour after Daybreak to call the Drummer, and he is to beat the drum. It is also agreed that one-fourth part of the town at a time, and so taking their turns, shall carry arms to meeting on the Lord's Day, and two to ward and one to stand Centry,"

Some months later a call to arms was devised as follows: "It is agreed that the Drum, being begun to be beaten at Joseph Rigg's gate [on what is now Clinton avenue nearly opposite the end of High street], and so all the way up the street as far as Sam'l Harrison's gate [just north of Military Park], and at the ceasing of the beating of the drum three guns being distinctly fired of [f]—it shall be sufficient warning for all as are in the Military list, forthwith to meet at the Meeting House in their Arms."

This seems to have been the last Indian excitement which Newark had to pass through. In 1680, the Assembly directed that each community fortify itself against the Indians, but Newark had already taken all necessary precautions.

A TANNERY IN 1676.

The first shoemaker to reside permanently apparently arrived in June, 1680, for the town then announced that it was "willing Samuel Whitehead should come and inhabit among us, provided he will supply the Town with shoes, tho' for the present we know not of any place of land convenient." The town was now pretty well supplied with manufacturers to fill its modest needs, and in its desire to foster the industries thus early we see the infant settlement laying the foundations for Newark's industrial greatness. It had been tanning hides and making leather since 1676, if not before. Deacon Lawrence was chosen the first sealer of leather, under an act of the Assembly which also provided for the appointment of a meat packer, Joseph Walters, being the first to hold that office in Newark.

KEEPING OUT STRANGERS.

When the town was less than fifteen years old, its leading men began to fear that strangers would get in, somehow, and remain. They were still striving to preserve their Puritan theocracy and they viewed the possibility of those of other ways of thinking and living getting a foothold among them, with genuine alarm. In 1680 it was decided by solemn vote of the town: "To

prevent Sundry inconveniences which may grow to this town of Newark, by the inconsiderate receiving and entertaining of strangers amongst us—it is voted, that henceforward no planter belonging to us or within our bounds or limits, receive or entertain any man or woman of what age or quality soever, coming or resorting to us, to settle upon the land; nor shall any person that hath been or shall be received as a planter among us, by right of inheritance or otherwise, sell, give, or in any way alienate, or pass over, lease or lett, any house, or house lot, or any part or parcel of any of them, or any land of what kind or quality soever, to any such person. Nor shall any planter or inheritor permit any such person or persons so coming or resorting, to stay or abide above one month, without license from those the town shall appoint for the purpose, under the penalty of five pounds for every such defect; besides all damages that may grow up by such entertainments.” Nothing could be more rigid than the above ordinance, and the old fellows meant it, every word of it. It was evidently drawn up with great care and with supreme exactitude, and there was something more than religious intolerance behind it. The town wanted no drones or persons of questionable reputation to pervert the youth, or spread discord.

CURING FRIVOLITY AND DISORDER.

The town fathers were also at this time troubled over certain frivolous tendencies among the youth of the town, and the town meeting, in 1681, ruled that no family should harbour or entertain any person or persons in their homes after 9 o'clock at night, or at other unseasonable times (extraordinary occasions excepted); nor shall they suffer them disorderly to meet at any place within their power to spend their time, money, or provisions inordinately, in drinking, gaming, or such like; nor shall they suffer any carriage, conference or council, which tends to corrupt one another. All such persons so transgressing shall be liable to such fines the authority shall see fit. Truly, they were sorely worried for the preservation of their precious Puritan ideals.

In 1685 it was decided to devise a more systematic and expeditious way of conducting the town's business. Four regular town meetings a year were fixed: For January, April, July and October, the taxes to be fixed at the last meeting of the year. Notice of the meetings was to be fastened to the meeting house door ten or twelve days in advance. The meetings were to begin at 10 in the morning, and if ten or twelve freeholders, together with the clerk, were present, they were authorized to transact all the town's business. Special meetings might be called, if necessary. This meant that the people had found it impossible to get anything like a large proportion of the freeholders to attend the meetings, and some plan like the above had to be evolved. This quarterly town-meeting system prevailed after the War for Independence, with little variation.

PASSING OF THE FIRST GENERATION.

By the time the first generation of the founders began to relinquish the control of things to their sons, and the little churchyard on the edges of the Frog Pond had received all that was mortal of these patriarchs, most of whom were well advanced in years when the settlement was started, Newark had a population of about five hundred persons (in 1668). It was compactly built.⁷ It occupied about ten thousand acres, and the various plantations that had been set close to its borders covered some forty thousand acres more. These last included the estates on the east bank of the Passaic and along the Hackensack, established by the Sandford, Kingsland, Berry, Pinhorne and other families who were reckoned as coming under the jurisdiction of the town.

⁷ Whitehead's "East Jersey Under the Proprietors," pp. 123, 124.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LORDS PROPRIETORS VERSUS THE PEOPLE. 1668-1702.

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THE LORDS PROPRIETORS VERSUS THE PEOPLE. 1668-1702.

THE solemn promise of the Lords Proprietors, in the original "Concessions"¹ of an annual Assembly, was one of the strongest attractions set forth in that document, to the settlers of Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and the other groups of English-speaking people, who responded to the Proprietors' call for settlers. It is doubtful, at least, whether the Newark founders would have come into New Jersey at all had it not been for this safeguard of their rights, where they might state their grievances, and demand redress. The struggle for independence virtually began with the very first session of the Assembly in New Jersey, and continued with little cessation down to the very opening of the actual physical conflict in 1776. The student of the history of this State may trace its growing strength with clearness for more than a century, until the question was settled by force of arms. It is not within the bounds of this work to follow it slowly, but to outline the forceful part taken by the people of Newark in the leading features of the struggle.

NEW JERSEY'S FIRST ASSEMBLY.

The first Assembly ever gathered in New Jersey was called to order by Governor Carteret on May 26, 1668, at Elizabethtown, when the representatives of the people from the six communities so far established, sat down together with the Governor and his Council. Thus began the actual organization of what is now the State. This Assembly was organized fifteen years before that in New York was formed, with Pennsylvania a still unbroken wilder-

¹ A written constitution for the government of the new Colony, one of the very first in all America. It went far beyond the Dutch "Charter of Liberties" granted in 1629. See "The Discovery and Early History of New Jersey," by William Nelson, 1912, pp. 33, 34. See also Chapter III of this work.

ness and Philadelphia unthought of. The pioneer assemblymen were, as the old records of the Lords Proprietors show: "Burgesses —For Bergen, Gasper Steenmetts and Balthazar Bayard; for Newark on the Pishawack River, Captain Robert Treat and Samuel Swarne [Swain];² for Elizabethtown, John Ogden, sen'r, and John Brackett; for Woodbridge, John Bishop and Robert Dennis; for Middletown, James Grover and John Boune, and the last consented also to represent Shrewsbury." These men represented something like two thousand settlers. The total white population of New Jersey at that time, including outlying and unrepresented groups, could scarcely have exceeded three thousand.

The Assembly continued for four days and during that time it passed a number of laws strongly flavored with Puritanism, since all the settlements except the ancient Dutch community of Bergen were made up very largely of New England and Long Island members of this sect. The first tax was then levied, for thirty pounds, to maintain the new government, and as each of the six communities was ordered to pay five pounds to make up the total, it would appear that the population was about the same in each. The Assembly adjourned to meet the following November, but discord had already begun; the Assembly and the Governor's Council, the commons and the aristocracy, who were to wrestle throughout the long and weary years until the very eve of the War for Independence, now began their contentions. The second session, like its predecessor, closed in four days, but this time with affairs all awry, and for seven years there were no regular sessions, of which there is reliable record, although the representatives of the people gathered in assembly two or three times to arrange for their common safety, without the sanction of the Governor and his Council.

FIGHT AGAINST QUIT-RENTS BEGUN.

The first real crisis came when the Governor announced that the first payment of quit-rents would be due on March 25, 1670.

² Swain had been named as the "third man," and he acted in the place of Jasper Crane, whom the people had chosen to serve with Treat, but who was absent from that historic gathering.

This stirred the colonists to a high state of excitement. It will be remembered that the Newark settlers in their earlier interviews with Governor Carteret had striven to have the quit-rent clause in the "Concessions" abrogated and how the latter had declared that he might concede almost anything else but the annual half-penny for each acre, which was a just and proper obligation and must be paid. The enforcement of this clause brought on a storm singularly similar to that caused by the Stamp Act a century later. The men of Newark and all the other settlements, with the possible exception of Bergen, considered that in their payments to the Indians they had discharged all their obligations to both God and man for the land. Their titles thus obtained, they contended, were held by them as a divine right. In the case of those settlements that had received formal grants of their land from Governor Nicholls of New York previous to Carteret's arrival, it was held by the people that these grants gave additional force to the titles obtained from the Indians. There was great confusion at this time and Newark, in 1668, sent Captain Treat and Jasper Crane to New York "to advise with Colonel Lovelace [Governor Nicholls' successor] concerning our standing, whether we are designed to be a part of the Duke's [Duke of York's] colony or no."*

Governor Carteret strove to adjust these difficulties, but as he and his Council had already aroused the well-founded suspicion that they were engaged in a systematic campaign to evade granting the liberties (promised in the "Concessions") by means of Assembly, his efforts were of little avail. So the settlements, with Newark among the foremost, openly and boldly defied the constituted authorities with quite as much courage as did their descendants in 1776, although not resorting to force of arms. Almost simultaneously with the demand for the payment of quit-rents, the Governor declared that no person should be accounted a freeholder thereafter, or have a vote in any election until he should have obtained a patent for his land.

* Town Minute Book.

BOLD OPPOSITION TO GOVERNOR CARTERET.

A condition little short of anarchy now prevailed. The men of Newark, Elizabethtown and one or two other places elected delegates to an Assembly, in 1672, without the sanction of the Governor and Council and which sat in March and later in May, 1672. As the Governor refused to recognize this body, the members took advantage of a certain clause in the "Concessions" and appointed a "President of the Country" in the "absence" of the Governor, who should serve until the latter's "return." This was nothing short of insurrection. The insurgents chose as President, James Carteret, a son of Lord Carteret, who happened to be in the Province at the time and who said he had authority to assume supreme charge from this father, and to oust the Governor if he thought necessary; but he never produced his credentials. About this time, Governor Philip Carteret sailed for England to obtain support from the Lords Proprietors. The insurgents seized upon officers of the government and cast them into prison.

James Carteret left the Province after about a year. He was a man of no particular force and the only reason the settlers could have had for selecting him as their "President" must have been his blood relationship to one of the Lords Proprietors.

PROPRIETORS UPHOLD GOVERNOR.

The Lords Proprietors supported Governor Carteret and insisted that his authority should be obeyed by the colonists. They refused to abate the quit-rents, and gave orders that all arrears must be paid in three years from 1673, together with such quit-rents as should accrue during those years. It was a hard blow to the people, but most of them submitted after a time, and for longer or shorter periods.

NEWARK'S FIRM STAND.

The people of Newark offered their quit-rent in wheat instead of "lawful money" specified in the "Concessions." The wheat was refused, and thereafter the people of Newark were more or less closely allied with the anti-quit-rent party. Twice they deliber-

ated with the other settlements with a view to sending representatives to England to present their side of the controversy upon the matter of quit-rents and upon many other grievances which the old records do not enumerate. The measures taken by the people of Newark at this time, described in the previous chapter, to fortify the town, were in all probability actuated not alone as a protection against the Indians, but as a means of defense against any demonstration that the Governor and his Council, in those troublous days, might see fit to make. There is no specific authority in history for this opinion, but the indignation of the people against the government make this view not only possible but highly probable.

THE DUTCH RECONQUEST, 1673.

The mission to England on the part of Newark and the other towns would in all likelihood have been carried out, had not the Dutch descended upon New York, in July, 1673, and, with a large fleet, ousted the English government's representatives and taken possession of the entire region, in much the summary manner pursued by the English in 1664. They promised not to dislodge the English settlers, however, and their demands for allegiance to the authority of the Netherlands were met with prompt acquiescence on the part of the people of Newark and elsewhere. The settlers' willingness to turn their backs upon the mother country and submit to the authority of her enemy is not hard to explain, for they were little short of desperate over what they considered the oppression of the Lords Proprietors' administration and saw in the new order of things a fair opportunity to get their rights and to permission to return to a comparatively untroubled and untrammelled existence.

The Dutch agreed to give the settlers full confirmation to their lands, and the Newark settlers at once entered into negotiations to that end. Officers of the Dutch were sent to Newark to see that all the freeholders, individually, took the oath of allegiance, and there is no evidence that anyone declined to do this.⁴ The

⁴ See Whitehead's "East Jersey Under the Proprietors," p. 77.

new rulers mapped out a somewhat new form of government, a code, which was tolerant and kindly and seemed to meet with general approval. But it had not been brought down to smooth working order before the Dutch and the English accomplished a peace, and New Jersey and New York returned to English domination, in February, 1674. Governor Philip Carteret returned to power in New Jersey and Andros became governor of New York.

ENGLISH AUTHORITY RESTORED, 1674.

Here was the Duke of York's opportunity to take back from the Lords Proprietors all this splendid territory we now call New Jersey. While there are good reasons to believe that he regretted having given it away in the first place, he now neglected to keep it, even though by the chances of war it had been returned to him. Political reasons probably prevented his retaining it.

Lord Carteret received renewed titles to land from the Duke of York in July, 1674, and with quite as much authority as in the first instance. But this time his holding was limited to approximately the upper half of the Province, Lord Berkeley definitely receiving the lower half for his portion. Carteret was recommissioned July 31, 1674.

He now came out with an "explanation" of the "Concessions"; that is, a "declaration of their true intent and meaning." This "explanation" was a more or less drastic abridgment of the original broad and progressive document which had brought the first English settlers here. The people, for instance, were now specifically to take out patents for their land from the Surveyor General. There was deep protest against this in Newark, for the settlers felt, as in the matter of quit-rents, that they had discharged all their obligations for the purchases of the land. Many of them, however, took out the patents at once, paying the necessary charges. There are numerous references in Newark's old Minute Book to the survey of the lands by the Surveyor General of the Province during the second decade of the town's history.

Soon after Governor Carteret resumed authority, a law was passed fixing the pay of each member of the Assembly and of the Governor's Council at three shillings a day for every day that the Assembly and Council sat, and four shillings for the Governor. One of the many quaint enactments of the Assembly at that time was to the effect that propagators of false news were to be fined ten shillings, and those guilty of slander were to be penalized in the same amount. For the second offense the fine was to be doubled, to twenty shillings.

ATTEMPT TO ABSORB NEW JERSEY IN NEW YORK.

From almost the very day that Philip Carteret resumed his office, Andros, Governor of New York, began to manifest an undue interest in the affairs of New Jersey. A well-founded apprehension spread through New Jersey that Andros was seeking to absorb that Province in New York, and that he was inspired to that end by James, Duke of York. In 1680 Lord George Carteret died, and left his estate in the hands of his widow Elizabeth (for whom Elizabethtown had been named). She continued his representative for more than a year, Philip Carteret remaining Governor. Andros now became more meddlesome. On March, 1680, he issued a decree abrogating the government of New Jersey by the Carteret regime, claiming that he had the authority of the King of England for this step, and calling upon the people to submit to his jurisdiction.

The people of New Jersey promptly resented Andros's high-handed procedure, and the inhabitants of Newark showed their temper in a resolution set down in the Minute Book to the effect that: "The town being met together, giving their positive answer to the Governor of York's writ, that they have taken the oath of allegiance to the King and fidelity to the present government, and until we have sufficient order from his Majesty we will stand by the same." This was a defiance of Andros, and equivalent to a declaration that the freeholders of Newark questioned that Andros was clothed with the authority he claimed. These were strenuous

times for the young settlement, and its fathers demonstrated time and again that they were quite able to meet each emergency as it arose with courage, foresight and wisdom.

Presently, early in April, 1680, it was reported throughout the settlements that Andros was about to move upon their Province and to wrest Governor Philip Carteret's authority from him by force. Men were summoned to resist this usurper and about one hundred and fifty, fully armed, were gathered at Elizabethtown. That Newark sent her share of this, the first draft upon it for fighting men, is certain. Andros appeared, but without show of arms. He presented his ultimatum to Carteret, and presently departed. The Jersey men remained defiant and refused to yield an inch, and a fortnight or so later, a party of Andros's soldiers from New York came to Elizabethtown in the night (April 30, 1680) and, dragging Governor Carteret from his bed, took him to New York, where he was locked up and so remained for some weeks, until his trial, before judges and jury, with Andros as chief officer of the court. Two or three times the jury reported a verdict of "not guilty" and each time Andros ordered it to retire and prepare a new verdict. But the jury was courageous and refused to bend to the irascible governor's will. Carteret was finally released from prison, the court having decided that he should not resume authority over New Jersey until official instructions had been received from England.

BRAVE DEFIANCE OF ANDROS BY THE PEOPLE.

Andros was not slow to see his chance to push his purpose at this juncture, and on June 2 he appeared before the Assembly at Elizabethtown and advised that body to adopt the laws of the Province of New York as those of New Jersey. But the members bravely stood for their rights and refused to be awed by his letters patent from the King. They answered Andros in a written statement of their position, concluding with, "for the great charter of England, alias Magna Charta, is the only rule, privilege and joint safety of every freeborn English man."

This was a dramatic moment in New Jersey's history. Newark may glory in the fact that she had two stalwart representatives in that Assembly, Thomas Johnson and John Curtis.

Andros returned to New York, having failed in his purpose of intimidation. Many months later, Carteret, who appears to have remained in the Province awaiting the decision of the Crown, announced, in March, 1681, his receipt of advices, that the Duke of York had wholly discredited Andros, and protesting in unequivocal language that he had never authorized that worthy to act for him in the affairs of New Jersey. Carteret at once resumed the reins of government.⁵

EAST JERSEY UNDER TWENTY-FOUR PROPRIETORS.

On the death of Lord Carteret his share in New Jersey was offered for sale, and in 1681 was purchased by William Penn and eleven others, for £3,400. These twelve presently sold, each one-half of his share, to another, so that the upper half of the Province came under the dominion of twenty-four proprietors.

Lord Berkeley had not from the beginning taken an active part in the development of the Province. He had fallen into disgrace with the English court because of charges of corruption. He tried more than once to rid himself of his holdings in America, and in March, 1673, disposed of his share of New Jersey to two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge. The price paid was £1,000.⁶ They desired the section they purchased, West Jersey, as a retreat for the people of their sect from oppression in England. William Penn was deeply interested in their action. The transfer from Berkeley to the two Quakers occurred just before the Dutch conquest, but it was reaffirmed by the Crown after the return to English domination.

⁵ See Whitehead's "East Jersey Under the Proprietors," pp. 89-98.

⁶ See Mulford's "History of New Jersey," pp. 155, 164.

EAST JERSEY'S POPULATION OVER 5,000 IN 1681.

East Jersey, at the purchase by the twenty-four proprietors, had a population of more than 5,000, two-thirds of whom lived in the towns of Newark, Elizabethtown, Middletown, Piscataway, Woodbridge and Shrewsbury. The capital was established at Perth Amboy and elaborate plans were made for the upbuilding of a great and powerful city, which were never realized. Government of West Jersey under the Lords Proprietors was much less difficult to administer than in East Jersey. In the former the population was comparatively homogeneous, being composed largely of Quakers and practically all coming direct from England. In East Jersey there were clashing elements—the New England Puritans, the original Dutch settlers with occasional small accessions, chiefly from New York; some Quakers and Baptists, and after the accession of the twenty-four proprietors, many Scotch and English immigrants.⁷ The latter were for the most part Presbyterians, while there was a sprinkling of Church of England communicants.

KING JAMES' LAST EFFORT TO RECOVER NEW JERSEY.

King Charles II died in 1685, and his successor was the same James, Duke of York, to whom the late King had given the territory of New York and New Jersey and who had given the latter tract to Berkeley and Carteret. We have already seen how James, the Duke, apparently regretting his generosity, had striven to get back control of New Jersey and had been forced by circumstances to relinquish the effort. He was in a measure responsible for the broad and progressive "Concessions" which had attracted the first English-speaking settlers and which had encouraged them to believe that in this region, at last, they would find comparative if not entire freedom from oppression of every sort. They had been sorely disappointed, as we have seen. And now that James was on the throne, they were to meet even more bitter conditions. James the Duke and James the King were two very different personages.

⁷ See Tanner's "The Province of New Jersey," Chapter II.

During the three years after the twenty-four proprietors secured the land, and previous to James' accession, half a dozen different governors and deputy governors were appointed. James watched his chance, and, in 1688, found it possible to have the proprietors appoint Andros, to act as governor of East Jersey while holding the same office in New York and in New England, with his residence in Boston. He was extremely unsatisfactory to the people of East Jersey in this instance, as he had been before, and he retained his office but a single year, leaving it with the people more disturbed and more distrustful of the Crown than ever.

ANTI-PROPRIETARY MOVEMENT GROWS.

There were no less than thirteen governors from Carteret's immediate successor to the last one to be appointed by the Lords Proprietors, in 1699. Most of the difficulties arose over alterations and deviations from the original "Concessions," and there were frequent intervals when the Assembly did not meet. The representatives of government were openly opposed on several occasions in Newark, as well as in some of the other towns. Sessions of the Provincial court were broken up amid scenes of violence.* The governors were often singularly unfitted for their positions. Some used undue severity and harshness, others were arbitrary in the extreme and some were foolishly and unavailingly conciliatory. In two or three instances an effort was made to enforce the Provincial authority by show of arms, but in each instance the insurgents appeared with a superior force, winning their points for the time, and without bloodshed.

The anti-proprietary party grew steadily stronger as the seventeenth century neared its close. In 1697, it had become so powerful in the Assembly that Governor Hamilton made use of a technicality to dissolve it, and there was rioting in Newark and the other towns. Governor Hamilton himself was thrown into prison. This ended the proprietary government in New Jersey. After long negotiations both East and West Jersey were taken up

* See New Jersey Archives, Vol. II, pp. 317, 333-39.

by the Crown, all authority of the Lords Proprietors (save such rights and titles to land as still remained to them) was extinguished, on April, 1702, and the series of royal governors, beginning with Lord Cornbury and ending with William Franklin, natural son of Benjamin Franklin, in 1776, was inaugurated.

DETAILS OF THE STRUGGLE—THE "REVOLUTION."

The struggle against the Lords Proprietors during the last few years of their dominion was, for many years thereafter, spoken of in Newark and throughout all East Jersey as the "Revolution." This "Revolution" in East Jersey, while it has no prominent place in history, is singularly attractive to the student. It came just when the second generation of settlers were beginning to assume the reins of government in the several towns, when the founders of Newark, Elizabethtown, Middletown, Piscataway, Woodbridge and the Shrewsbury had either been laid to rest in the quiet churchyards or had, while still living, handed over the control of affairs to their sons. The new generation had received something more from the founders than the mere possession of the soil and the means of tilling it, the homesteads, the live stock, etc. They had breathed in a staunch spirit of independence, which voiced itself against every move under the proprietary form of government that savored of oppression.

Unfortunately the Lords Proprietors did not seem to appreciate the temper and the mettle of the people whom they had set out to govern. They expected to control them very much as the petty rulers of England were at the same period administering affairs for the masses in the mother country. They failed to grasp the vital and subtle fact, that the new country was breeding a new spirit in men, and that their application of old world rules and systems did not adequately apply to the management of the colonies. They continually violated the letter or the spirit of the original "Concessions" of 1665.

The people of Newark and the other East Jersey communities readily divined the trickeries and fallacies of the government set in authority over them; they saw that justice administered by the governor and his council, constantly ignoring the rights of the Assembly, was but a paltry subterfuge designed to carry out selfish ends; and they grew rapidly to treat it first, with open distrust and finally with indifference, until their personal rights were most arrogantly interfered with, when they resorted to force.

A JERSEY "LEXINGTON" IN 1700.

In 1700 the Governor of both East and West Jersey, Andrew Hamilton, made Lewis Morris president of the Governor's Council, ordering him, from his headquarters at Burlington, to see to it that his, the Governor's authority, was properly respected by all the people in East Jersey. Morris promptly made it known that he would make the people respect the Governor and obey his wishes, or "embrue the province in blood." Because the English sheriff of Monmouth county had not managed affairs with as much zeal for the Governor's interests as the latter saw fit, he was dismissed and a Scotchman appointed, a man ready and pliable to the first touch of proprietary authority.

There was unrest in Middletown, and the new sheriff was sent there to discipline several men who were known to be outspoken in their contempt for government. The sheriff threatened these men with imprisonment if they did not give security for good behavior in the future. One refused, and the sheriff promptly placed him in durance.* "This disturbed the people greavously, itt being harvest time, and they [the Governor's representatives] had given out warrants to seize Richard Salter and others, and the sheriff had like to have taken him, which some of his [Salter's] neighbors onderstanding [they] went and met the sheriff, banged him, broake his head and sent him packing."

* New Jersey Archives, Vol. II, pp. 327-329.

This episode stirred the people of all of what is now Monmouth county. The men gathered in an impromptu mass-meeting and decided to leave their fields and the harvest, on Friday, July 19, 1700, go in a body to Middletown and release the man whom the sheriff had taken with him and locked up. The sheriff learned of this move in advance, and sent messengers to Governor Hamilton at Burlington, telling of the acute stage matters had reached. The Governor came at once, pressed thirty or forty men into his service, gave them arms and marched to Middletown, where they found the people assembled to the number of nearly two hundred, without arms, but each man with a stout club. The Governor's show of authority had no effect upon the people. They stood their ground and Hamilton presently withdrew in a mighty rage. In cowardly fashion he commanded the sheriff and the armed men not to leave the ground until the people had come to their senses and had acknowledged his authority. The sheriff, nevertheless, did leave the field in the possession of the yeomanry without firing a shot. One is reminded of the fact that three-quarters of a century later a somewhat similar scene was to be presented at Lexington.

NEWARK GIVES AID TO FELLOW INSURGENTS.

No sooner had the sheriff and his hirelings disappeared than the people of Middletown and all the surrounding country put themselves in communication with the people of Middlesex and Essex counties, in the latter case with leading men of Newark, asking for support if the outbreak should take a more serious turn. Newark and the other communities answered that they would send aid, and they urged the Middletown and Monmouth folk to stand their ground. It was decided by the people among themselves that if Governor Hamilton and his council resorted to further measures of oppression they should be seized and confined and the whole case be presented to the Crown. "And the country, on the other hand, are rising by whole townes against them [the Governor and his Council] resolving to putt a stop to their arbitrary proceedings although it be with the hazard of their lives

and fortunes. These officers of theirs [of the Governor and Council] are so bold as to attempt the drinking of King James' health."¹⁰ Which last sentences shows how deep was the detestation of the people of East Jersey for the former Duke of York, when to drink his health as King, in public, was held to be an insult!

THE FIRST NEWARK RIOTS.

About two months later, on September 10, 1700, the scene shifted to Newark, when a Provincial court attempted to sit and mete out justice. This was counted as needless interference with the local government, and it seems to have been resented with quite as much bitterness as would no doubt be shown if the Federal government of to-day should set about to adjudicate matters of purely local importance. In this instance the court proposed to compel a man to support his natural child. Whether the court had justice upon its side does not appear. Its action, however, was vehemently resented, apparently not so much because of the nature of this specific case but because of the Governor's representatives presuming to pass judgment in matters which the town's magistrates had in the past disposed of. A riot occurred. The judges were hustled out of their seats, their wigs torn off, the sword of one court officer taken away from him, and before the melee was over the defendant in the case had been spirited away.

THE SIXTY HORSEMEN.

This affair inflamed the whole neighborhood. Two days later more than sixty horsemen rode into the centre of Newark, searched out the sheriff, took the keys of the jail (which was on Broad street at what is now Branford place), and released the one prisoner then confined there. The Governor demanded that a grand jury be assembled to investigate this scandalous business, and eighteen jurors were assembled. The sworn testimony of many witnesses was taken. One of these set forth that there appeared suddenly before his house, "a greate company of men a

¹⁰ See New Jersey Archives, Vol. II, pp. 327-329.

horse backe with clubs in their hands." They demanded to know the whereabouts of the "pitifull Raskells who had taken upon them to userp authority."

The horsemen called upon one of the leading men in all Newark, Theophilus Pierson, a son of Pastor Pierson and a brother of the first president of Yale University, to produce the sheriff. Pierson attempted to compromise and asked the horsemen if any two of them would stand surety for the body of the sheriff if they were permitted to see and talk with him. They answered defiantly that they would not. They declared they would take the sheriff by force. Pierson commanded them, in the King's name, to let the sheriff alone. And again they refused. Then Pierson demanded to know by what power would they presume to seize the sheriff, and one of the horsemen, Samuel Whitehead, answered, as he brandished his club, "By this power!" "And soe you say all of you, gentlemen!" he cried to his followers. With that they held up their hands and said, "Yes, one and all;"¹¹

East Jersey was now in a state of anarchy. After this stirring demonstration in Newark, but one more episode remained to bring the administration of Governor Hamilton to a virtual close, and to rouse the Crown to put an end to the rule of the Lords Proprietors. It has been said that the people of East Jersey had made up their minds to jail the governor and his council if they were annoyed by them after the affair at Middletown already described. The rioting at Newark seems to have brought the anticipated crisis. The end came very soon afterwards.

In March, 1701, the Governor and his Council assembled in Middletown to try a number of cases, notably that of "Moses Butterwoth who was accused of piracy and who confessed yt he did sail with Capt. William Kidd [none other than the notorious freebooter] in his last voyage when he came from ye East Indies." The proceedings had not gone far when a man named Samuel Willetts rushed out of the courtroom and dashed down the stairs

¹¹ See New Jersey Archives, Vol. II, p. 362.

to the ground floor crying that the Governor and Council had no authority to hold court, and that he would break it up.

LORDS PROPRIETORS "DRUMMED OUT" OF POWER.

Now enters Thomas Johnson, a drummer boy, and we are at once reminded that a youth, Joseph Johnson, was first appointed by the Newark settlers to warn the people to their various duties to meet every common emergency, with his drumming. We cannot but wonder if this drummer at Middletown was not the Newarker (some old scrivener giving the wrong first name, possibly), now of middle age, or some member of his family. "Accordingly," runs the old record, "Willetts went downstairs to a company of men there in armes [no doubt deliberately assembled by the people] and sent up a drummer, one Thomas Johnson into ye court, who beat upon his drum, and severall of ye company came up with their armes and clubs."

A furious riot was now started. The Governor and his Council strove to go on with the proceedings, but Johnson drummed continuously and the insurgents raised a mighty din, which all ended just as planned, no doubt, in the representatives of the Lords Proprietors being put under lock and key. They were kept prisoners for three or four days—and thus ended proprietary government in New Jersey. The drummer Johnson, whether of Newark, Middletown or elsewhere, deserves a unique place in New Jersey history for he drummed proprietary government out of existence.

CHAPTER IX.

**THE COMMON LANDS—EARLY LAWS AND PENALTIES
—QUARRIES AND MINES—CURRENCY.**

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMON LANDS—EARLY LAWS AND PENALTIES—QUARRIES AND MINES— CURRENCY.

THE opening of the eighteenth century, which was to work such tremendous changes in the welfare of the colonists before its completion, found Newark and her sister villages of East Jersey freed from the vacillating and exasperating government of the Lords Proprietors, but, while hopeful of much better things under the direct government of England, uneasy and suspicious. In the early days of the settlements, shortly after the promulgation of the famous "Concessions," New Jersey was recommended by some cynic as a "Paradise," because, among other things, it was almost entirely free of "lawyers, physicians or parsons."¹ A quarter of a century or so later, about 1700, another observer wrote that "no men grow rich as fast here as gentlemen of the bar." The chief reason for this last was the great confusion over land titles.

THE PATENT OF 1696.

In 1696, the freeholders of Newark, having practically all of them taken out surveys for their land under the Lords Proprietors, resolved to secure the so-called common lands; so, on December 10 of that year, they obtained a patent, granting to the town, the Watering Place, Market Place, Training Place, the Burying Ground, the highways, the large parcels variously distributed over the uplands and in the meadows, spoken of as the "parsonage lands" and aggregating about 210 acres. This gave the people of Newark, as a whole, a comprehensive or "blanket" title to much of their territory that had not as yet been taken up by individuals. The settlers, as has been told in previous chapters, always contended that their rights to the land were from the Indians, the original

¹ Atkinson's "History of Newark," p. 50.

owners, and that they needed no further confirmation of this right. But, as fast as they had taken out individual letters patent under the Lords Proprietors, the latter had felt that their own contentions to supreme right in the land had been acknowledged by the settlers. To avoid further danger of losing their common lands, the second generation of Newarkers did as above described.

THE TRUSTEESHIP.

Under this grant of common lands, they were to be held by four leading citizens and their "heirs and assigns forever," as trustees for the community. An annual fee of six pence sterling was to be paid, every March 20th. The four trustees were: John Curtis, John Treat (son of Robert Treat), Theophilus Pierson (third son of the first Pastor Pierson) and Robert Young. In this connection the comment of the late associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, Joseph P. Bradley, is of great value:^{*} "The common lands (embraced in the patent) belonged, in truth, to the town, as much after as before, and as much before as after, the grant, and, when not affecting private rights, such as adjacency to streets and highways, the town could dispose of them for such purposes as it saw fit. The action of the town has always been in accordance with this view."

The trustees were accountable to the community for the proper conservation of these common lands, first through the Town Meeting. Newark was practically a pure democracy for forty years, and until the township of Newark was created in 1713 by royal patent under Queen Anne (the other then existing four counties being similarly sub-divided), when the trustees became known as "The Trustees of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of Newark." The Queen Anne charter remained in operation even after the War for Independence, until 1798, when, by law, a body politic was created under the name of "The Inhabitants of the

^{*} See "Miscellaneous Writings of the late Hon. Joseph P. Bradley," edited and compiled by his son, Charles Bradley, pp. 294-297.

Township of Newark of the County of Essex." This form of government continued until 1836, when the charter of the City of Newark was granted.

PASSING OF THE TRUSTEESHIP, 1804.

The trusteeship over these common lands was continued until 1804, when a law was enacted, describing the impracticability of maintaining this trusteeship, and vesting the title of the trusteeship in "The Township of Newark in the County of Essex" * excepting all such parcels as had been disposed of by sale or lease by the heirs of the trusteeship, such as the First, Second and Third Presbyterian churches, Trinity Episcopal of Newark and the First Church of Orange, previous to the year 1803. The officers of the township thus assumed the mantles of the ancient trustees, and they in turn handed them over to the Mayor and Common Council, when the city came into being in 1836.

SELLING COMMON LANDS.

It was not many decades after the granting of the common lands to the trustees before the town began to realize that portions of these lands were not needed for common use, and could be disposed of by the community, to individuals, with great advantage to the town.⁴ The Watering Place, which lay on the south side of Market street between Harrison [now Halsey] and the foot of the hill [above Plane street], and extending nearly to William street, but somewhat gore-shaped, being no longer needed for its original use, was left out and finally sold to the tanners of the town for the location of tanneries; and in that way has contributed immensely to the prosperity of the town. The Burying Ground, not being all needed for that purpose, and the northeast corner being a pond, or marsh, and unsuitable for it, the town and church let out lots around the margin, which greatly benefited the appearance of that part of the town, multiplied business facilities,

* Essex and Monmouth counties, the first in New Jersey, were created in the same year, 1675.

and contributed to the public finances without any public detriment. The court house and jail were erected on lots granted to the county along Broad street, south of the old church [which stood about where Branford place now is] and neat and tasteful stores were erected between the meeting house and Market street. Nobody was injured; the town was benefited; the public good was furthered.⁵

BEGINNING OF CITY PARKS.

"Then the Training Place [Military Park] being no longer wanted for that use [the militia was often drilled there even as late as the early decades of the last century] as there were hundreds of places in the vicinity much better fitted for it, was converted into a public park, and planted with beautiful trees that adorn it; first, those grand old elms were planted about the beginning of the present century [1800], and the interior trees were set out in 1838, many of them being brought from Long Island, and finally, the park was enclosed with an iron fence [the last vestiges of which disappeared in the 1880's] * * * Then, again, the Market Place, Washington Park, was deemed to be of more use to the health and beauty of the city by making a public park of it, than by using it for a market.

"The first market that was built for the town was not built on Washington Park, but in Market street, on the margin of the Burying Ground, in a low spot where no graves could be dug.⁶ It was the only market that the town had for many years. It had a hall above in which meetings were held and when the old Court House at the corner of Broad and Walnut streets was burned [1835], the courts were held in the upper part of the old Market house. They were held there in 1835, 1836 and 1837, whilst the present court house [the one demolished in 1906 to make room for that now standing] was being built. When this old market became too small, what next? Did the city authorities (the collective representatives of all the town's people) go uptown and take Washington Park for a market place? No. They purchased the present

⁵ The earliest leases of land abutting on the Burying Ground of which there is record were given by the First Church the year after the War for Independence closed, in 1784. Jesse Baldwin leased the southwest corner of Market and Broad streets in that year.

⁶ See "Miscellaneous Writings," by Justice Bradley, p. 295.

⁷ It gave the street its name. It was on the south side of Market street, had a frontage of about 50 feet, and was a little east of Halsey street. It was built about 1795.

site over the Morris Canal because it was more central and convenient to the people, and because Washington Park * * * was a public park, and property had been purchased and residences built around it on the faith of that appropriation."

The above was written by Justice Bradley in defense of the common rights of all the people to these public places. It is given here in order to establish clearly the status of these common lands. Justice Bradley's concluding sentences in this connection are particularly lucid and forcible:

"The courts, or the City Council itself, would have no more right now to deface it and convert it [Washington Park] into a market place, than they would to sweep away all the trees and structures from Military Common, or from the Watering Place. [An effort, by the way, was made to locate the then proposed new City Hall in Military Park, in the 1890's, but quickly abandoned in response to public opinion.] And why? Simply because, upon the faith of the acts and conduct of the town for over two hundred years, rights have grown up which can not be disregarded and overthrown. The plea that these acts and conduct are in violation of the Patent of 1696 * * * is based on a false idea, namely, that the public lands, commons and streets of Newark were the free donation of the Proprietors; whereas historic truth is different, and shows that this common property belongs to the townspeople themselves, to be disposed of by them for the public good as they deem best, and not to the private injury of the citizens. This is the sound, sensible view of the subject, and law is never found, in the end, to be at war with sound sense and reason."

LAST PHASE OF COMMON LANDS DISPOSAL.

The last link in the long chain of adjustments of the common lands titles was not forged until 1888, at the time of the celebrated "Old Burying Ground Case," when an injunction was asked by the officers of the First Presbyterian Church to restrain the Mayor and Common Council, the successors of the ancient trustees, from removing the bones of the settlers from the cemetery, the old Burying Ground. The chancellor sustained the First Church, but was reversed by the State Supreme Court, and the remains of the settlers were taken up and deposited in a vault in Fairmount Cemetery. The Mayor and Common Council were confirmed in their right and title, for the city, in the Burying Ground plot. The

First Church's title to the lands bordering upon the Burying Ground was not disturbed. The church, it was long thought, could not sell any of these lands, now (1913) enormously valuable; but that theory has been exploded. On the other hand, the city had sold all of the Burying Ground land by 1911.

EARLY LAWS AND PENALTIES.

While a greater part of the unrest and strife during the regime of the Lords Proprietors and the early royal governors is traceable to struggles over the land and to the hostility of the settlers to the payment of quit-rents (which virtually ceased to be paid in the second or third generation) not a little of the trouble was caused by the long periods when the Assembly did not sit, and the towns of East Jersey were almost without government save that which they administered themselves. Such laws as were enacted by the central government they obeyed or not, about as they chose. The early penal statutes, which reflect to a striking degree the Puritan characteristics of the first English speaking settlers, were continued in force after the coming of the royal governors, and many of them were not materially modified for a long time thereafter.

' Offenses punishable with death were: arson, murder, perjury to the prejudices of life; stealing any of mankind; burglary and robbery, for the third offense, as incorrigibles; theft, if incorrigible; smiting or cursing parents by children, on complaint of parents only; rape, subject to the discretion of the court; gross and unnatural licentiousness. In all these offenses life was not to be taken except on proof of two or three witnesses.

The penalties for infidelity were divorce, corporal punishment or banishment, as the court might award. Unchastity was at first punishable by fine, marriage or by corporal punishment; in 1682, three months' imprisonment, or a fine of five pounds was incurred, and later, ten stripes at a public whipping post were substituted in place of imprisonment, upon non-payment of the fine.

' See Whitehead's "East Jersey Under the Proprietors," pp. 239-240.

Night walkers or revelers after 9 at night and later on, after 10, were to be detained until morning by the constable, and, unless excused, were to be bound over to appear in court. Liars were liable to a fine of ten shillings for the first offense and twenty shillings for the second offense. If the fines were not paid the liars were to be put in the stocks or publicly whipped.

For the "bestly vice of drunkenness," the early laws inflicted fines of one, two and two and one-half shillings for the first three offenses, with corporal punishment; and if the culprits should be unable to pay, or were unruly, they were to be put in the stocks to remain until sober. Later, each offense, incurred a five-shilling fine, and if not paid, to the stocks for six hours. Constables who did not do their duty in this were fined ten shillings for each case of neglect.

Imprisonment for debt, save when fraud was intended, was prohibited as early as 1675. But there were rooms for debtors on the top or third floor of the Essex county jail at the corner of Broad and Walnut streets, Newark, early in the last century, and they had occasional tenants.

In 1698 the common law of England was assured to every one, and more than a dozen years before that, it was provided that no one should be imprisoned except by the judgment of his peers, or by the laws of the Province. All courts were open to persons of any religious belief; they were allowed to plead in their own way and manner, either in person or by their friends or attorneys. Trial by jury was confirmed with reasonable challenges allowed; all persons wereailable, except for capital offenses. No court by execution or other writ could authorize the sale of any man's land without his consent, but the rents and profits might be stopped for the payment of just debts

All prizes, stage plays, games, masques, revels, bull baitings and cock fighting, "which excite the people to rudeness," were to be discouraged and punished by courts of justice, according to the nature of the offense. Swearing, or "taking God's name in vain," was punishable by one shilling fine for each offense. In 1682 this

fine was increased to two shillings and six pence, and, if not paid, the offender to be placed in the stocks or whipped, according to his age, whether under or over twelve years. The observance of the Lord's day was required; servile work, unlawful recreations, unnecessary traveling and any disorderly conduct on that day being punishable by confinement in the stocks or common gaol, or by whipping.

NEWARK'S FIRST HANGING, 1738.

That the grim old fathers of Newark did not hesitate to administer capital punishment under the law is certain enough. The first instance of it on record, however, occurred in 1738, when a man with many aliases, of which the first mentioned is "John Barnes" and the last "George Brown," was hanged here, for three times robbing the house of Thomas Bailey. He made a long confession of a dreary series of petty crimes, committed in England and in various provinces, concluding with the Bailey robbery, which seems to have been his most ambitious effort, and ending his statement with, "For which I now must die, and hope all people will take warning by me, and put their trust in God, and not give way to the temptations of the devil as I have done. N. B.—This is taken down from his own mouth and read at the gallows at his desire."

It is practically certain that the execution took place near the town's first jail, which was just south of the first meeting house at Branford Place and Broad street.

A PEOPLE OF DEEDS AND FEW WORDS.

The second generation of Newarkers were quite as diligent as their fathers, and they relaxed but little from the hard, iron-bound rules of living of their parents. They were farmers, nearly all of them. They carried their produce to New York in their boats, which were for the most sort, periaugers or petteaугers—light, one-sailed craft, broad of beam, steady of keel, and capable of carrying good loads.* For many years they exchanged their produce in barter, bringing back teas, coffees, sugar, spices, nails, hinges, glass and various other useful things.

* "Periauger" is derived from the French "pirogue," a dugout.

Their tilling of the fields was not accomplished without infinite labor, and they were very well adapted for it. They were a people of deeds and of few words. The terseness and directness of the language employed in the Town Minute Book gives ample testimony to this. They seem to have written very few letters to their friends and relatives in New England or elsewhere. Exhausted from their long days afield, from sunrise until dusk, they had little time or ambition for writing or for reading beyond the conning of the Good Book.

THE FIRST VEHICLES.

They had no wagons for two generations or more; they would have been of little use on the crude roads. They used two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen for the heavy work, and sleds and drags, usually pulled by horses for lighter work. The old English plow, with an iron share and a wooden mould board, broke the soil for them.

NEWARK FAMED FOR ITS CIDER.

They had been on the Newark ground less than a generation before they were manufacturing excellent cider. As fast as a settler cleared his land he devoted part of it to his apple orchard. The young trees often came from the droppings of the cattle that had fed upon the fruit in the woods, for the apple is indigenous to New Jersey. Apple trees are mentioned in the Minute Book as early as 1678, as a boundary. These young plants were carefully fostered until fit to set out in the orchards. The apples improved steadily with cultivation, and for a long time the cider improved as the settlement became older. Newark was soon celebrated throughout the colonies for its cider. In a description written in 1700, we find: "The town of Newark alone in one year made ready a thousand barrels of good cyder out of the orchards of their own planting." It was shipped to many parts of the colonies, largely to southern ports. Cider-making was a very profitable industry for Newark for over a century. It was, practically, Newark's first industry and out of this fact we read another evidence of Newark's industrial skill and success from almost its very beginning.

In 1731, there was offered for sale in Newark a farm upon which "there is a good bearing young orchard and a good barn, as also a distilling house, with stills and all conveniences ready for distilling of strong liquors and especially of Syder; and where the buyer may also be instructed in the art of distilling." Which makes it manifest enough that the Puritans, with all their strait-laced ways were by no means above manufacturing liquor when there was a profit to be made from it. They were distilling West India molasses into rum as early as 1732.

One of the first accidents reported from Newark occurred in 1739, when a boy, a son of Peregrine Sandford, living on the east side of the Passaic, got his fingers "in between the cogg'd rollers of a Cyder Mill, which drew his arm up to the elbow before he could be rescu'd by him that 'tended the mill; they were obliged to set [cut] off his arm below the elbow."

THE FIRST SAW MILL, 1695.

In 1695, the first saw mill of which there is any record was authorized by the town meeting, upon Mill Brook, by the following resolution: "Thomas Davis hath liberty to set up a saw mill, with liberty to have use of any timber in any common land; provided he shall let any of the inhabitants have boards as cheap as others and before strangers."

NEWARK'S QUARRIES.

In 1721 and possibly a few years before, freestone was quarried for market in Newark, "and this article, celebrated for its excellent quality, has long been exported in great quantities," said Gordon in his *Gazeteer of New Jersey* in 1836, nearly a century later. No doubt the first generation of settlers quickly discovered the value of the Jersey brownstone and used it in their own buildings to a limited extent. We do know that by 1700 the second generation had to an extent replaced the first permanent habitations of their fathers with more spacious and substantial homes made, in part, of this stone. The fact that it was not marketed until a half century

or so after the settlement was no doubt due to the lack of roads and the proper facilities for quarrying the stone in large quantities and for moving it.

* One of the very first quarries, possibly the first, was located on the north side of what is now Bloomfield avenue, about a hundred yards west of Belleville avenue. This was quite near the Passaic, and the stone was probably moved down the slope to the mouth of Mill Brook, where a rude dock is believed to have been constructed in very early times.

The largest quarry in Newark was no doubt that of which the last vestige disappeared in the 1890's, on the north side of Bloomfield avenue, between Mt. Prospect and Clifton avenues, and which was part of a system of quarries extending along Clifton avenue and Ridge street about to what is now Seventh avenue. One big quarry hole was located where the reservoir now is in the southern division of Branch Brook Park. Mill Brook, shortly after leaving the Branch Brook ponds, ran through the middle of one large quarry hole, and the Lackawanna Railroad passes over part of the same quarry.

There was also a quarry on the north side of Mill Brook, between Factory and Sheffield streets, and extending north nearly to Crane street. Quarry street (now Eighth avenue) connected with the two quarries last mentioned. One or another of these quarries seem to have been worked with little cessation for nearly two hundred years. The first stone masons in Newark, of whom we have any record, tell their own story in an announcement printed in a New York newspaper in September, 1745: "This is to give notice to all persons whatsoever, that William Grant, stone cutter, and Samuel Hunterdon, quarrier, of Newark, lately arrived from England, carves and cuts all manner of stones in the neatest and most curious fashions ever done in America. The said Grant is to be spoke with at Mr. Walsh's, sexton to Trinity Church, in

* This quarry was apparently in operation as late as 1838, for it is plotted on a map of the city made in 1838, together with the others mentioned in succeeding paragraphs.

New York." Newark sandstone was used in constructing the New York City Hall that preceded the present venerable structure; in churches and other pretentious structures in various places.

THE SCHUYLER COPPER MINE AND OTHERS.

The discovery of copper ore in 1719 in what is now Arlington, on the east side of the ridge, caused great excitement, not only in Newark, but throughout the entire province. This was the famous Belleville copper mine, its original owner being Arent Schuyler. The mine was worked at intervals and with varying success from about 1725 until 1870 or thereabouts. An unsuccessful effort to put it in operation was made about 1900. The early owners are believed to have realized very handsomely from the mine. Great quantities of the ore were shipped to England. This was one of the very first mining ventures in what are now the United States, and it is further remarkable from the fact that the first steam engine brought to the American colonies was set up at this mine, in 1753, at a cost of £3,000. The old mine is a little north of the cut through the hill of the Greenwood Lake branch of the Erie Railroad, at its eastern end.

With the discovery of this mine, every freeholder in Newark was roused with the hope of finding similar treasure on his own acres. In 1721 the people of Newark, at town meeting, appointed a committee to let out the common lands, or any part thereof, "to dig for mines, to such persons and on such terms as they shall agree upon." But no mines were found in what is now Newark. One mine was worked in Orange, between Dodd street and the Bloomfield township line and close to the bank of the Second River, and a shaft was sunk near where the foot of Vernon avenue now is, in Orange also. There was much mining activity in old Bloomfield, from east of Ridgewood avenue (now Glen Ridge), and continuing on over the line into Montclair. These mines were opened soon after the discovery made by the Schuylers across the Passaic, but little work was done after 1760. In the early fifties of the last century people living on the site of the Dodd street mine mentioned

above were thrown into a state of panic by the sudden sinking of the ground, which was no doubt caused by the decay and collapse of the timber supports of the mine below. A few years after the Civil War a well digger discovered a chamber in this ancient mine which he estimated to cover half an acre.¹⁰

While the searchers after the precious metals were busy in all parts of this neighborhood, looking, with their crude knowledge of geology and mineralogy, for signs of ore, others, stirred by the find of the Schuylers, were scanning the rock formations in various sections of the Colony. The governor of East Jersey in 1723 reported to the Crown that silver and gold were to be found in New Jersey, shrewdly adding, however, "there must be a great allowance made for the humour that now prevails to run a mine-hunting."

Danger lurked in the old mines as in those of to-day. An item in a New York newspaper, published in November, 1739, reads: "One Marsh in the [Schuyler] mines, being about to blow off a blast, before he could shelter himself from the explosion, it went off and bruis'd him very much; and that there was some hopes of his recovery." And in 1743, also from a New York paper: "We hear from Newark, that on Saturday, the 26th of March last, one Malachi Venderpoel unfortunately fell into one of the mine pits near that place [the Schuyler mine] upwards of 100 feet deep, by which his whole body was so bruis'd, and many bones broken, that he died immediately."

Slaves worked in the old Belleville copper mine, as appears from the following from a New York newspaper of 1746, which also chronicles the fact that the mine lessees were ready to part with their property: "To be sold at publick Vendue, on Friday, the 29th instant, at the house of Mr. Joseph Johnson, in Newark, two negro men, whome understands mining; also the utencels belonging to the mine, in Kingsland's lands, with pots & kittles, &c. As also the remaining part of the leace of said mine which being near two years."

¹⁰ Wickes' "History of the Oranges," pp. 53-61.

CURRENCY FROM 1665 TO 1776.

As most of the commercial and mercantile business of East Jersey was done by barter during the first quarter of a century, currency did not become a matter of special concern until about the opening of the eighteenth century. The first Assembly, in 1668, provided that taxes, quit-rents and the settlement of accounts might be payable in produce at prices fixed by the authority of the Lords Proprietors. For that year the standard of money equivalents was as follows: Per bushel—Winter wheat, 5 shillings; summer wheat, 4 shillings sixpence; peas, 3 shillings sixpence; Indian corn, 3 shillings; rye, 4 shillings; barley, 4 shillings; per pound—beef, two and half pence; pork, three and half pence; per barrel—beef, 50 shillings; pork, 70 shillings.

The coins of England, the Netherlands and their respective moneys of account circulated without trouble for a time, but the difference in values, especially between New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania gradually grew vexatious. In 1704 Queen Anne issued a proclamation to correct the "inconveniences caused by the different rates at which the same species of foreign coin pass in drawing money from one plantation to another, to the great prejudice of her Majesty's subjects," ordering the reduction of all foreign coins to the same current rate within her territory on this continent. By way of illustration of the varying values of the same coin, which the proclamation sought to correct: pieces of eight, weighing not less than seventeen pennyweight, were current at six shillings in Boston, eight shillings in New York, seven shillings sixpence in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, four and sixpence in Maryland. The equalization ordered by Queen Anne was confirmed by act of Parliament a few years later. Bills of credit, based on the "proclamation" standard, were afterwards issued. The expression "proclamation money" is constantly met with in old Colonial records and writings.

The proclamation was unsatisfactory to American traders. It was suspended in New York, by Governor Cornbury, and it was practically ignored in the other colonies. In 1708 the Assembly

of New York fixed the value of silver coins at eight shillings per ounce troy. Hence arose the term "New York money." In making contracts in New Jersey thereafter, payment was provided for in "New York" or in "proclamation" money.

But coin was very scarce, it being constantly drawn back to the mother country by the English traders. An urgent demand arose for paper money, which was grudgingly permitted by the British Board of Trade, the body to which all matters of currency were referred by the Crown. The Colonial governor could sanction the issue of paper only on special emergencies. New Jersey's first paper money act was passed in 1709, authorizing the issue of bills to the amount of three thousand pounds for his Majesty's service. Some of these notes continued in circulation for about eight years, disappearing finally in the payment of taxes. In 1716 an issue of bills of credit to the amount of 11,675 ounces of plate, or about £4,000, of proclamation money, was authorized. These were soon paid in and redeemed.

There was a long controversy between the New Jersey Assembly and the Governor, the former denying its support of the government unless bills of credit were permitted. An understanding was reached in 1723, when the Assembly "provided for ten years to come for supplying the government in order to obtain money which their necessities made inevitable."¹¹

By this act £40,000 in bills of from three pounds down to one shilling were issued. In its preamble the act explains that the people, in order to pay their taxes for the support of government, had been forced to cut down and pay in their plate, including, it is understood, silver coin, ear-rings and other jewels.

Later laws provided for other issues amounting to about £600,000, previous to the War for Independence. None was issued for a period of almost ten years before the beginning of the war. Then the last was assented to in 1774, by Governor Franklin. This

¹¹ Elmers' "History of Cumberland County."

paper bore the date of March 26, 1776. From this issue came most of the currency of New Jersey at the beginning of the conflict.

Death was the penalty meted out to counterfeiters, but there were many offenders, nevertheless. The bills were crudely printed on coarse paper, and the temptation to copy them proved too great to a number. Persons of high intelligence and of considerable culture were sometimes among the criminals.

CHAPTER X.

**NEWARK, MOTHER OF TOWNS—A CENTURY—LONG
CHURCH CONTROVERSY—PRINCETON COLLEGE
IN NEWARK.**

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NEWARK. MOTHER OF TOWNS—A CENTURY—LONG CHURCH CONTROVERSY—
PRINCETON COLLEGE IN NEWARK.

NEWARK may truly be called "Mother of Towns." She has been chiefly responsible for the creation of every town in Essex county and in West Hudson; and her staunch sons, in the very early days, made their way still further out into the wilderness. Learning from the Indians of the presence of iron ore in what is now Morris county, a small company penetrated to the Whippany river and founded the town of Whippany where they set up their forges, bringing in the ore from the hills further above in their pack saddles, to the furnaces. They also founded Morristown, which was really an offshoot of Whippany. They had an influence upon the creation of Hanover, Hanover Neck and Troy Hills. This Whippany river colonization movement was in operation shortly after 1700. The gravestone of Whippany's first schoolmaster, Richards, still standing in Whippany cemetery, bears the date of death as 1710.

The first movement out of the very centre of Newark began within a half dozen years or so after the settlement, when the settlers found the uplands to the west of what is now High street very useful for the pasturage of their cattle. The beasts roved at will all the way to the Orange Mountains, which explains why it was so essential that all the animals should be branded and the owner's brands entered in a town book. The third division of land was made in 1675, and this comprised the partition of all lands west of High street to the mountain, which had been previously held in common. It is doubtful if a single habitation was built west of High street previous to the third division of land, in 1675. High street was, then, for ten years, the dividing line between civilization and the wilderness.

MAKING ROADS OF INDIAN TRAILS.

Now the sons and daughters of the founders, taking their life partners, began to move westward and northward, and thus, gradually the nuclei for the Oranges, Irvington, Bloomfield, Montclair, Caldwell, Belleville and Nutley were formed. Here and there, to the north and northwest, the Newark "frontiersmen" found Dutch farmers on the ground ahead of them. But there was nothing approaching community organization until the Newarkers came. In the beginning, that is, when the lands west of High street were used for pasturage, the people resorted to the Indian paths to get back and forth. But when homes were reared, better ways of getting to and from the mother settlement on the Passaic became necessary. The Indian paths were straightened, little by little, and widened, although it was many years before the people got beyond the saddle and the pillion. They came to town to attend church, to market their produce and to visit their relatives, and the need for highways increased rapidly. While the Assembly, in 1675, made provision for the laying out and improvement of roads, and from then on two surveyors of highways were required in each town in the colony, little was actually done beyond the making of rude paths which accommodated a two-wheeled cart with difficulty out of the Indian trails. It was not until 1705 that the Newark people responded to the demands of the "frontiersmen" for better roads. In a single day in that year twelve new highways were provided for, on paper.

TWELVE HIGHWAYS PROVIDED FOR, 1705.

It is not possible to-day to locate all these old roads with absolute accuracy. The first in the list is undoubtedly that starting at the head of what is now Market street, at the County Courthouse, through Warren street to Roseville and thence to Orange, being practically identical with Main street in the Oranges. It was for generations called "the Crane road," in honor of old Jasper Crane, one of the chief founders of Newark, who lived on what is now the northeast corner of Bank and High streets. It was to be

laid out "as the path now runs, as straight as the ground will allow," which virtually meant along the lines of least resistance, a method employed in all the early highway building. It followed the original Indian path for a great part of its way, and the trolley cars to-day pass over much of that ancient trail.

The second road laid down in that memorable list of twelve was wholly in the Oranges, running north and south, from the road just described to what is now South Orange avenue, part of the way over the present Valley road and over Ridgewood avenue.

The third road was South Orange avenue. The location of the fourth is uncertain but it was in Orange. The fifth road is believed to have opened communication between Cranetown (now Montclair), and Orange. It is impossible to locate any of the others except one that appears to have been the Eagle Rock road, from the foot of the mountain to the top. The roads were fixed in the specification of their planners, by trees, boulders and other landmarks long, long since disappeared.

OTHER HIGHWAYS.

The first road actually laid out by the commission of highways for Essex county (which was created in 1675) was a highway in Elizabethtown, in 1698, (Elizabethtown being then and for more than a century thereafter, in Essex). The first legally laid road between Newark and Elizabethtown was provided for in 1705, which run "as the old road runs to Newark." The "old road" was undoubtedly the ancient Indian trail, one of those leading from the territory of the Raritan Indians below Weequahic or Bound Creek into the territory of the Hackensacks, the Indians who owned the Newark region. In 1707 the road along the west bank of the Passaic, starting apparently at Mill Brook (Clay street) and following the line of what is now Belleville avenue, was laid out. It turned down to the riverside at the present Gully road, on the northern boundary of what is now Mt. Pleasant Cemetery, and proceeded up the river bank to Passaic, then called Acquackanonck.

High street was probably opened a few years after Newark was founded, but there is no record of it until 1709.

The old Bloomfield road was built about 1716. Bloomfield, then Wardsessions, was begun by the second generation of Newarkers, about 1700. Franklin street, Bloomfield, is none other than the "old road," which entered the present Newark at the head of Branch Brook Park, ran southeast in winding fashion down to what is now Mt. Prospect avenue, entering it at Abington avenue. From there it continued down Second avenue into the present Belleville avenue and thus to the Mill Brook. Several roads were laid out from the main and original streets of the town to the meadows to aid the people in getting out their salt hay.

THE "MOUNTAIN SOCIETY."

The community expanded with the building of the roads. It did not grow at all rapidly, but the people moved further out, appreciating the improving facilities for travel and for the transport of their goods, and becoming convinced that they need no longer anticipate trouble from the red men, now disappearing. In 1719 the community in the Oranges had grown sufficiently large to warrant the establishment of a church there, the first offshoot of the original First Church of Newark. This new congregation was known as the "Mountain Society." Two or three years before this, the second edifice of the original Newark congregation was erected, a little north of the first building, on Broad street. It was built of stone (of the brownstone now beginning to come out of the local quarries). The new Newark church gloried in a steeple, the first in Newark, with a bell, likewise the first in all the region. The Rev. Dr. Alexander Macwhorter said of this church in his famous "Century Sermon," preached on January 1, 1801, "that all the people in Newark could have sat upon the foundations of this building," which was no doubt an exaggeration, as there were upwards of six hundred souls in the village by that time. In 1726 a church was established at Second River (Belleville) for a Dutch congregation, and about the same time another further up the river

at Acquackanonck. These churches did not arise because of schisms or dissensions, but were a natural response to the growth of the region, all of which was still within the confines of the township of Newark.

THE REGION'S POPULATION IN 1730.

It is impossible to closely estimate the actual population of the entire region considered as being in the township, from the east bank of the Passaic to South Orange, Orange proper, Montclair, Bloomfield, Belleville, Nutley and Acquackanonck, but it must have approximated two thousand in 1730.

PURITANISM LOSING ITS GRIP.

Newark was, by 1730, casting aside many of its early and original Puritan characteristics. The children of the founders had ceased to impose the religious qualifications set down in the "Fundamental Agreements" and there was now a sprinkling of those of other faiths, notably a small following of the Church of England. This was made up largely of the owners of the fine manor houses on the east bank of the Passaic, in what are now Kearny and Arlington, then called Barbadoes Neck. The persecution of the Congregational and Presbyterian congregations by Lord Cornbury, the first royalist governor, was in some small measure responsible for the growth of Episcopacy here, for while Cornbury was not a Church of England zealot by any means, he was bitterly opposed to the other congregations, apparently considering them instruments for the further disquietude of the Crown's administration in New Jersey.

A Church of England missionary, established for a time at Elizabethtown, wrote, in 1731, that he sometimes traveled as far into the country as Whippany holding services, adding that he found his congregations increasing. Episcopal services were held occasionally in Newark as early as 1730, possibly a year or so earlier.

COLONEL OGDEN BREAKS THE SABBATH.

Conditions were therefore ripe for the establishment of a congregation of the Church of England, when one late summer Sunday, in the early 1730's (about 1733), Colonel Josiah Ogden, one of the leading men in Newark, got into difficulties with the fathers of the First Church. He was a son of Elizabeth Swain, by her first husband, and she is believed to have been the first of the Branford group of settlers to land upon Newark soil. The summer season of 1730 had been one of much rain. But this particular Sunday was clear and bright, and Colonel Ogden decided to take advantage of the smiling skies. He called his household together and, going into his fields, moved his wheat, already cut, into his barn. He saved his grain, but in so doing destroyed then and there the absolute religious sovereignty of the original church of Newark, the centre and citadel of the "Little Kingdom of God on Earth" which the Puritans founded Newark to establish.

AN EPOCH-MAKING DISSENSION.

Colonel Ogden was disciplined by the First Church for breaking the Sabbath in a manner contrary to all rule and precedent, being publicly censured. The First Church had before this gone over to Presbyterianism and was part of the Philadelphia Synod. The case was laid before the Presbytery, and the drastic action of the church in seeking to humble so powerful and so good a man as Colonel Ogden, whose life was full of public works, and who had represented the town in the Assembly from 1716 to 1721, was reversed. But the Colonel was a fighter. He felt that there could no longer be any peace and harmony for him within the walls of a church where so innocent an action as his seeking to save his property on Sunday at a time of emergency, could be viewed so harshly by a considerable number of the congregation. Others in the congregation shared his views. It was a revolt of "Progressives" against "regulars" or reactionaries. It was a striking manifestation of the very spirit of self-reliance and independence that had sent the Puritan founders of Newark out of Connecticut; it was

the last physical demonstration, here, of the inevitable result of the attempt at rigid adherence to the old Puritan doctrines, in a new country, where independence and tolerance were waxing in strength and power every day.

THE FOUNDING OF TRINITY EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The dissension was even carried before the Philadelphia Synod and solemnly debated. The breach was never healed, and out of it was born Trinity Episcopal Church, for its founders declared they had come to the conclusion that there was more true religion in the Church of England than in the ancient institution that their fathers had come out of Connecticut to establish, which was pure and wholesome enough when first set up in the wilderness on the Passaic's banks, but which had now, in their day and generation, grown too harsh and uncharitable to permit their longer remaining within its doors.

The founders of the new church insisted that they be given a proper share of the parsonage lands, contending that they were as much the descendants of the pioneer settlers as their fellow townsmen in the First Church. They were conceded the right to land for their new church upon some portion of the common lands, even as the First Church had been placed. The location was chosen by a mutual arrangement between the members of the new congregation and the town (although all mention of this dissension is scrupulously avoided in the old Town Minute Book). Committees were appointed on behalf of each party, which met and "staked out the plot." It contained about half an acre and was, where Trinity Church now is, at the head of Military Park. The congregation was not actually organized until about 1736. There is a tradition to the effect that the new church was to remain in possession of the land at the head of what is now Military Park, and which was then the Training Place, "so long as the spire shall stand," which may in part account for the fact that when the present edifice was erected on the site of the original structure (in 1809-10), the tower of the original church was preserved. The old story, occasionally

heard to this day, that Trinity Church would forfeit to the municipality its title to the ground on which it stands, if it ceased to paint its steeple white, has no foundation in fact.

After Colonel Josiah Ogden, the most influential member of the new congregation was Colonel Peter Schuyler, who gave to the church about four and one-half acres of land, the benefits of which the church has scarcely ceased to enjoy to this day (1913). Colonel Schuyler's gift comprised all the land on the upper or northeast side of what is now Park Place, from a point a little west of Park Place terminal, to Broad, then along Rector street to the Passaic, the line returning to Park Place parallel with what is now Saybrook Place and fifty feet or so to the west of it. The first parsonage was built on the southeast side of Broad and Rector streets. Of this handsome gift of land, all that the church now owns is the present rectory property on Park Place and the chapel and graveyard property on Rector street. For more than a century after the War for Independence the church was accustomed to sell small parcels of this tract whenever it needed money.

Beside the land given it by Colonel Schuyler, and the half acre set aside by the town for the church building, in Military Park, there was a certain share of the ancient "common lands" which its members believed belonged to their congregation but to which it did not get title until early in the last century. These lands were located partly in the meadows and partly in the uplands, some of it being in Roseville. But their title was not then and never has been clear, and the land was leased by the church, at irregular intervals, on ninety or hundred-year leases, which have come to maturity during the last fifteen years or so (1913). In disposing of its right and title to these lands the church has issued quitclaim deeds, requiring in payment, ten per cent. of the actual value of the land (irrespective of buildings), at the time of expiration of the long leases. Thus, during the first years of the twentieth century, Trinity Church congregation has been disposing of the last vestige of its ancient right and title in the so-called common lands.

THE FEUD THAT LASTED FOR A CENTURY.

The animosities engendered between the two religious factions at the time of Colonel Ogden's memorable Sabbath-day visit to his wheat field did not die out for fully a hundred years. The Rev. Dr. Macwhorter wrote of it, in 1801, as "still before the public." In the War for Independence the greater part of the First Church congregation supported the Continental cause; while nearly all of the members of Trinity remained loyal to the King, suffering the loss of lands and other possessions confiscated by and through the Committee of Safety acting for the new State government. Yes, the old feud still rankled nearly a score of years afterwards, when many of the one-time loyalists returned from Nova Scotia and from England striving to recover their property. There are old men and women living in Newark to this day (1913), who tell of manifestations of the old differences between the members of the two churches which they noticed as children or learned of by word of mouth from their parents or grandparents.

TRINITY CHURCH BUILDING FUND AUGMENTED BY A LOTTERY.

It was nearly a decade after Trinity Church was established that the first church edifice, the only predecessor of the present house of worship, was completed. The church's charter bears the seal of George II, and the date of February 10, 1746. Funds to finish it were raised by lottery, a very common method for gathering money for churches and parsonages, strangely enough. It is hard for us to-day to reconcile the use of the lottery for such a purpose, in a day and generation when a common precept taught the young was, "cards and dice are the devil's device," and when all forms of gambling were rigidly forbidden by acts of the Assembly.

As a matter of fact, the Assembly did frown upon lotteries, but would occasionally authorize them for special and specific purposes. The practice was continued intermittently until after the War for Independence. Many an edifice for divine worship and some for educational purposes reared in various sections of New

Jersey could scarcely have been provided without lotteries. For the people were poor; there were very few who, even in their day, could be called wealthy. The gaming instinct, also, was strong in those days, as now. The very fact that laws were constantly being enacted to suppress it is the best proof we need of the prevalence of the habit of indulging in games of chance. The end and aim of church lotteries seems in the minds of the people generally, to have justified the practice and to have purged it of all sin. An announcement of the Trinity Church lottery appeared in the New York Gazette in December, 1748. It read as follows:

“SCHEME.

“Of Newark, in New Jersey, Lottery, for raising £337:10:0 Proclamation, for completing the Church, and building a Parsonage House, consisting of 3,000 tickets at fifteen shillings Proclamation, each, 678 of which to be fortunate, viz.:”

The notice then explains that there was to be one prize of £100, two each of £50, of £40, and of £30; three of £20; five of £15; sixteen of £10; twenty of £7; forty of £5; two hundred of £2; four hundred and eighty-seven of £1:10s each. The business was conducted in a straightforward manner, every detail being set forth so that the public might know just what sort of a venture it was embarking in. The three thousand lottery tickets realized £2250. From this, fifteen per cent. or £337:10s was deducted as the church's share, leaving £1912 10s for the prizes. The newspaper notice continues:

“The drawing to commence on or before the first day of May next, in Newark aforesaid, under the care and management of Col. Peter Schuyler,¹ Col. Jacob Ford, Messrs. Frin Lucas and Uzal Ogden, who are to dispose of the tickets and be under oath for the faithful management of the same. The fortunate are to receive their prizes entire, the fifteen per cent. being deducted from the whole sum produced by the sale of the tickets, before the drawing begins, and not from the prizes after they are drawn. Fourteen days' notice at least to be given before the day of drawing. The prizes to be printed in this paper when the drawing is concluded. Tickets are to be sold by the printer hereof.”

¹ Who led the New Jersey soldiers in the French and Indian War.

LOTTERIES THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE.

On May 1, 1749, the Gazette announced: "The managers of the Newark lottery have began to roll up the blanks and prizes, and [are] preparing to put the numbers in the wheels, so as to be ready certainly to begin the drawing on Tuesday the 16th of this Instant. There remains but a few tickets in the hands of the managers which continue to be sold as usual."

The Trinity Church lottery is the only one in Newark to be noticed in the newspapers of the day. Lotteries came into fashion in New Jersey before 1730. The first acts of the Assembly prohibiting them were directed chiefly against schemes for the raffling of goods, and there was then a general feeling that this act was not intended to forbid money lotteries. The most respectable people of the time embarked in them. The custom grew to such proportions, however, that in the same year and at about the time the Trinity Church lottery was advertised, an act of Assembly was passed putting a stop to all forms of lotteries under heavy penalties. The act was evaded by having the lotteries drawn outside the province, although the managers of the Trinity lottery appear to have had their drawing here in defiance of the law. Ten years later another lottery, the drawing for which was conducted outside the Province, was held, to raise £750 "for the benefit of Trinity Church of Newark and towards building a new English church [Christ Church] at Second River [Belleville]."

A lottery to aid New Jersey College (Princeton) then in Newark, was held in 1749, and the drawing conducted in Philadelphia. Churches and parsonages were wholly or partially built by lotteries in: Elizabethtown, St. John's Episcopal Church; New Brunswick, New Providence, and Hanover, all about 1748. One printer of that time spoke of the lotteries as "so many at once they were like cabbage too thickly planted, which never suffer one another to come to a head"—from which we infer that not all the lotteries projected came to a successful end.

Colonel Josiah Ogden died in 1763, apparently content with his separation from the Puritan faith of his forefathers and his

return to the religion which his more ancient forbears in England had found illy suited to their spiritual needs. He left to the church in his will, "my silver cup or porringer with two handles," as Azariah Crane had done with reference to the First Church.

LOCATION OF HISTORIC WHEAT FIELD.

Where was the wheat field that caused all this uproar which took more than a century to quiet? Where were those acres into which Colonel Josiah and his household sallied that peaceful Sabbath day? There is no apparent way of telling with absolute certainty, but the historic grain, in all probability, waved on the gentle slopes comprised between North Canal street and Centre street, or Saybrook Place. In 1763 and for a year thereafter Colonel Josiah's home was offered for sale in the New York newspapers. Here is one of the advertisements:

"To be sold. The late dwelling house of Col. Josiah Ogden, at Newark, being built of Free-stone, two and a half story, has six good rooms and fire-places, besides a kitchen with a Garden and Barn, and also about four acres of very good mowing or pasture land, with an Orchard thereon of choice fruit lying near said house, which is pleasantly situated at the most publick Landing in Newark, and very suitable for a storekeeper or merchant."

The "most publick landing place in Newark" at the time was undoubtedly that at the foot of Centre street. Colonel Ogden's tidy little farm probably reached from the river to Park Place, and may have extended from Saybrook Place to the Canal on its western boundary.

When the "Old Burying Ground" was cleared of the graves of the forefathers late in the last century the tombstones of Colonel Ogden and of David Ogden, his brother, were saved from the wreckage and securely set on either side of the tower of Trinity Church, outside the edifice. They were so worn that the legends were well-nigh undecipherable, and early in the present century they were re-cut. On the north side of the tower is the stone of Colonel Ogden. It reads: "Here lyeth interred ye Body of Col. Josiah Ogden, who died May 17, 1763, in the 84th year of his age."

On the south side of the tower the legend on the stone there placed reads: "Here lyeth interred Body of Captn David Ogden, who died July 11th A. D. 1734, aged 56 years."

During the controversy which led to the separation from the First Church of some of its leading members and the establishment of Trinity, the Rev. Joseph Webb was pastor of the former. He came to the pastorate in 1718 and immediately after the church left the Congregational denomination and adopted Presbyterianism. He was a godly man, meek and unoffending. He was too peaceable by nature to control or in any way influence the warring elements in his congregation and shortly after the Trinity separation was dismissed. He came to a tragic end in 1741, as the following notice in a New York newspaper explains: "We are informed that the Rev. Mr. Webb, sometime minister of the Gospel of Newark, was drowned crossing a ferry over the Connecticut river. His son, who is said to have been with him, endeavored to save himself upon his horse; but if the report be true he shared the same fate as his father."

DR. AARON BURR.

Now began, in the First Church, the pastorate of the Rev. Aaron Burr (father of the vice-president of that name) whose nineteen years here were of the most profound influence upon the advancement of the town, far transcending the limits of his work as leader of the flock. His forcefulness in the church is set forth in the chapters upon Churches of Newark, and will be no further discussed here. He was a man of deep learning and rare intellectual attainments. He was graduated from Yale College in 1735 and came to Newark the following year. His erudition, combined with a natural aptitude, made him a very successful teacher. He conducted a grammar school while in Newark, probably from the earliest days of his stay here. He was largely instrumental in the founding of what afterwards became Princeton College, as he was one of the leading Presbyterian clergymen in all this section of the colonies, and the college was established as an institution of the church and directly under its control, as was the custom of the time with regard to all institutions of learning in the colonies.

DAVID BRAINERD AND YALE.

But while spiritual reasons animated the actual establishment of the college, it would probably not have been created had it not been for a curious and decidedly human incident, which, amusing as it seems to-day, strikingly illustrates the narrowness and intolerance of the perfervid Puritan communities.

In 1741 a student in his third year at Yale was expelled because he had been discovered to harbor religious thoughts and ideas not in entire concord with the dominant religious tenets of the college. He was overheard to remark to fellow students that a certain instructor possessed no more grace than a chair. This manifestation of heresy was reported to the authorities by some eavesdropper. It was also learned that this student was occasionally attending the meetings of a congregation outside the college and of a somewhat different shade of faith. In spite of the most earnest efforts of his friends in his behalf, the student was expelled.

ORDAINED A MISSIONARY IN NEWARK.

This student was none other than the Rev. David Brainerd, spoken of later in religious history as the "saintly Brainerd" and a deeply devout follower of religion from childhood, with not the slightest blemish upon his personal character that historians have been able to discover, a veritable martyr to the faith, in fact.

Brainerd, after being driven from Yale, resolved to become a missionary to the Indians, and he was ordained to this work, in Newark, as appears from the following extract from a Boston newspaper: "Just published.—A sermon preach'd in New-Ark, June 12, 1744, at the ordination of Dr. David Brainerd, a missionary among the Indians upon the borders of the provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania."

Thus did Newark play its part in launching upon his career one of the earliest missionaries to the Indians in this section of the country. The young man gave his life to the work, living amid great privation among the savages and contracting consumption which brought about his end. His brother, the Rev. John Brainerd,

took up his brother's missionary work where the latter dropped it. Later he succeeded Mr. Burr as pastor of the First Church, subsequently taking charge of the first Indian reservation ever established in this country, at Brotherton, New Jersey, on the Delaware.

It is difficult for us to understand the times that could tolerate and even foster lotteries and simultaneously give evidence of such harshness as that meted out to Brainerd by the grim old doctors of divinity who then ruled at Yale. It is to the credit of Newark that it received Brainerd with open arms and that Mr. Burr and his people were not so tightly swathed in the lashings of intolerance as to be unable to comprehend and condemn the wrong done him. The boy and the youth of that period, in New England and almost to the same degree here in Newark, seems to have led a far from attractive life, as we view it now.

AUSTERE TRAINING OF BOYS—1700-1750.

One may search the old records and writings up and down for evidence of anything pleasurable in the lives of the children or young people, and find little in this period. The boys and girls in Newark during the first half of the eighteenth century lived either in strict conformance to the rigid laws of their fathers or departed from them altogether and were disgraced and deemed little short of outlaws. That there were very few who strayed from the narrow and stony path is remarkable. Herewith is given a curious and illuminating description of the life of a Puritan boy of the period about 1700-1750:

* "A boy was early taught a profound respect for his parents, teachers or guardians, and implicit, prompt obedience. If he undertook to rebel, his will was broken by persistent and adequate punishment. He was accustomed every morning and evening to bow at the family altar; and the Bible was his ordinary reading book in school. He was never allowed to close his eyes in sleep without prayer on his pillow.

"At a sufficient age, no caprice, slight illness, nor any condition of roads or weather, was allowed to detain him from church. In the sanctuary he was required to be grave, strictly attentive, and

* "Life of John Brainerd," pp. 44-48.

able on his return at least to give the text. From sundown Saturday evening until the Sabbath sunset his sports were all suspended, and all secular reading laid aside; while the Bible, the New England Primer, Baxter's Saint's Rest, etc., were commended to his ready attention * * *

"He was taught that his blessings were abundant and undeserved, his evils relatively few and merited, and that he was not bound to contentment but gratitude. He was taught that time was a talent to be always improved; that industry was a cardinal virtue, and laziness the worst form of original sin. Hence he must rise early and make himself useful before he went to school; he must be diligent there in study, and be promptly home to do 'chores' at evening. His whole time out of school must be filled up by some service—such as bringing in fuel for the day, cutting potatoes for the sheep, feeding the swine, watering the horses, picking the berries, gathering the vegetables, spooling the yarn and running all errands.

"He was taught that it was a sin to find fault with his meals, his apparel, his tasks, or his lot in life. Labor he was not allowed to regard as a burden, nor abstinence from any improper indulgence as a hardship.

"His clothes, woolen and linen, for summer and winter, were mostly spun, woven and made up by his mother and sisters at home; and as he saw the whole laborious process of their fabrication he was jubilant and grateful for two suits, with bright buttons, a year. Rents were carefully closed and holes patched in the 'every-day' dress, and the Sabbath dress was always kept new and fresh.

"He was early expected to have the 'stops and marks,' the 'abbreviations,' the multiplication table, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the 'Shorter Catechism' at his tongue's end.

"Courtesy was enjoined as a duty. He must be silent among his superiors. If addressed by older persons, he must respond with a bow. He was to bow as he entered and left the school, and bow to every man or woman, old or young, rich or poor, black or white, whom he met on the road. Special punishment was visited upon him if he failed to show respect to the aged, the poor, the colored, or to any persons whatever whom God had visited with infirmities. He was thus taught to stand in awe of the rights of humanity.

"Honesty was regarded as a religious duty, and unpaid debts were represented as infamy. He was allowed to be sharp at a bargain, to shudder at dependence, but still to prefer poverty to deception or fraud. His industry was not urged by poverty but by duty. Those who imposed upon his early responsibility and restraint led the way by their example, and commended this example by the prosperity of their fortunes and the respectability of their positions as the result of these virtues. * * *

"He learned to identify himself with the interest he was set to promote. He claimed every acre of his father's ample farm, and every horse and ox and cow and sheep became constructively his, and he had a name for each. The waving harvests, the garnered sheaves, the gathered fruits, were all his own. And besides these he had his individual treasures. He knew every trout-hole in the streams; he was great at building dams, snaring rabbits, trapping squirrels and gathering chestnuts and walnuts for winter store. Days of election, training, thanksgiving and school intermissions were bright spots in his life. The long winter evenings, made cheerful by sparkling fires within and cold, clear skies and ice-crusted plains and frozen streams for his sled and skates, were full of enjoyment."

We can hardly respond to the enthusiasm shown by the writer of the above, over the boyhood of the young Puritan in New England, as well as in all Puritan offshoots on Long Island, and at Newark, Elizabethtown, Middletown, Woodbridge and Piscataway, in New Jersey. It was a solemn, joyless life, viewed from modern standpoints. It bred a race of stern, sturdy, honest, but more or less unimaginative and narrow men, intolerant of the ideas of other sects. A strange combining of splendid characteristics with others of which the least said to-day the better.

PRINCETON COLLEGE IN NEWARK.

We are now to see how the expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale worked for the founding of Princeton. There had been a dearth of ministers in the Province of New Jersey ever since the first settlements, and the desire for a college where young men might be prepared for the ministry was increasingly strong. Harvard and Yale were both difficult for the youth of the middle colonies to reach. At the time of Brainerd's expulsion from Yale, much indignation over this act was felt in New Jersey. It was intensified by a violent religious controversy in which the clergy at Yale had been in opposition to those of this neighborhood. The Rev. Aaron Burr is said to have remarked that "if it had not been for the treatment received by Mr. Brainerd at Yale College, New Jersey College would never have been erected." This was said by other divines. It is a significant fact that three of Brainerd's

most ardent supporters were the three first presidents of the New Jersey College: Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr and Jonathan Edwards.

The college was established at Elizabethtown in 1747 with the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson as its first president, who had for some time conducted a school at Elizabethtown for the instruction of theological students, while Burr was conducting his Latin School in Newark. Dickinson, however, died the same year the college was started and the eight students were removed to Newark and placed under the care of Mr. Burr. Thus Newark's pastor became, virtually, the first president of what is now Princeton.

It is not clear whether Mr. Burr gave up his grammar school when he took up the more ambitious work that had fallen into his hands from Jonathan Dickinson's stiffening fingers. It was continued, but may have been directed by someone else. When the college was moved to Princeton the grammar school went with it. The college classes were held in the Essex County Courthouse, which stood facing Broad street, a little south of the church, and just below Branford Place. Mr. Burr was a masterful teacher and many of his students while in Newark became the most prominent men in this and other provinces. Jonathan Belcher, recently made governor of the Province, unlike some of his predecessors, was friendly toward the Presbyterian Church, took a deep interest in the college from its beginning, often speaking of it as his "daughter." He worked assiduously to promote its welfare, and procured its second charter, which was granted by the Crown in 1748.

THE FIRST COMMENCEMENT, 1748.

The institution was formally reorganized under this charter on November 9, 1748, at the first commencement exercises, which were held in the church. At that time also Mr. Burr was unanimously chosen president of the college which he had administered for more than a year. The first board of trustees under the new charter, and the first to show appreciable interest in the great educational enterprise, were on that day also inducted into office.



Aaron Burr

These, the first commencement exercises of the now world-famous college, were conducted in two sessions, morning and afternoon. They were the most imposing and impressive ceremonies to occur in Newark during all the then eighty-two years of its existence.

In each instance, the exercises were opened with a procession, which started at Mr. Burr's parsonage, on the south corner of what are now Broad and William streets, and where Governor Belcher lodged, he having come here for the express purpose of presenting the charter and taking part in the ceremonies. The six young graduates (who, by the way, had been ready for their diplomas for six months and had had to wait for them until the King signed the new charter and forwarded it) led the procession, everyone in it marching by twos. They were followed by the trustees, after whom came Governor Belcher and President Burr. Thus the line proceeded up Broad street from William to the church. Arrived at the door, the graduates stood, three in a line on each side, while the Governor and the President entered first, the graduates entering last as the church bell ceased tolling.

"Thus the first appearance of a college in New Jersey having given solemn satisfaction, even the unlearned being pleased with the external solemnity and decorum which they saw 't 'is hoped that this infant college will meet due encouragement from all public spirited, generous minds; and that the lovers of mankind will wish it prosperity and contribute to its support." *

The first graduates were: Richard Stockton (afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of New Jersey's most eminent sons in all generations), Enos Ayres, Benjamin Chestnut, Hugo Henry, Israel Reed and Daniel Thane. All became ministers with the exception of Stockton, who took up the study of law and became a distinguished jurist.

REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION.

The original requirements for admission are interesting. They were as follows:

* Parker's Gazette and Post Boy. New York, Nov. 21, 1748.

"1. None may expect to be admitted to college but such as being examined by the President and Tutors shall be found able to render Virgil and Tully's orations into English; and to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and to be so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in that language into Latin or English; and to give the grammatical connexion of the words.

"2. Every student [that] enters college shall transcribe the Laws [of the college] which being signed by the President shall be testimony of his admission, and shall be kept by him, while he remains a member of the college, as the rule for his Behaviour."

The time for succeeding commencements was fixed for the last Wednesday in September by the trustees, and they also decided that the second commencement should be held at New Brunswick. Governor Belcher urged that the second commencement exercises be held at Princeton, but he was overruled, the majority of the trustees being anxious to have the institution permanently established at New Brunswick. The third commencement and those succeeding it until the college was removed to Princeton were held here, in Newark.

WHY THE COLLEGE LEFT NEWARK.

There seems to have been, almost from the first, a conviction that the college could not remain in Newark. Just why this was so early determined cannot be told to-day. One reason no doubt was a desire to have the institution more centrally located in the region from which it was expected to draw the majority of its students, since not a few of them were drawn from Pennsylvania and further south, while it was expected that New York would send few of her sons here, but to Yale or to Harvard. Another force that worked for its removal further into the country was, no doubt, the desire to keep the young men as far as possible from the temptations of a large community like New York. The officers of the college decided, however, that the community in which it was to sit down forever, must furnish a bond for £1,000, donate ten acres of cleared ground and two hundred acres of woodland. At the third commencement, here in Newark, the trustees voted

to make proposals embodying the above conditions to both New Brunswick and Princeton. The majority of the trustees expected the people of New Brunswick would meet the conditions. Indeed, they had insisted upon the second commencement being held there in the expectation that the people in that village would be so impressed with its value and importance, as to undertake to adopt it. But New Brunswick folk could not or would not raise the thousand pounds nor supply the land, while a few well-to-do and public-spirited residents of Princeton rose to the emergency, and thus the College of New Jersey presently became what, after the War for Independence, was to be re-named Princeton.

Why was the proposition above described not offered to the people of Newark? Possibly because of the desire for a more central location, and possibly because the college officers had found, without the necessity for a formal tender of their conditions, that Newark people would not respond to it. New Brunswick subsequently got its college (now known as Rutgers), but Newark, to the everlasting regret of many of its people to-day, not only let one of its greatest opportunities slip through its fingers, but has been content ever since to go on without a higher institution of learning, for more than a century and a half.

But there is another theory with reference to the failure of the college to remain in the community in which it was virtually given in its initial momentum, which, so far as the writer is aware, has never been given its proper weight by the historians of either Newark or the college. The County Courthouse, it will be remembered, was the only available college hall. Nearly all recitations and meetings of the college body were held there. The Courthouse was next door to the county jail. The land riots which roused the town and the entire county to fever heat at times, throughout the stay of the college in Newark, had the jail as their focal point, for the citizens who were arrested by the officers of the Provincial government were continually being delivered from that jail by their infuriated fellow citizens.

Such activity under the very windows of the college could not be considered anything less than pernicious so far as the college's well-being was concerned. Indeed, as a number of the students educated there while the institution was located in Newark afterward became leaders in the cause of liberty, it is not beyond reason to assume that they drank in some of their spirit of independence from the turbulent scenes around their class room doors in the early 1750's. Finally, Governor Belcher, an enthusiastic supporter of the college, was equally energetic in denouncing the land rioters, and it is easy enough to conceive of his being anxious to remove the young men from such a hot-bed of insubordination, and of his having used his great influence with the president and trustees for its transportation to a quieter and more docile neighborhood.

COLLEGE LIFE IN NEWARK.

College life in Newark was, of course, vastly different from that at Princeton to-day. There were no dormitories; the students lived in the families of the townspeople, which was felt to be unfavorable to intellectual and moral discipline. The college had no building of its own. It remained in Newark about eight years, and President Burr kept up his duties as pastor of the First Church, and possibly continued to conduct his grammar school, all that time except for the last year when, because of his increasing responsibilities he found he must give up the college or the church, and he chose to leave the latter. For the first three years of the college's life in Newark he received no salary. After that, five pounds of the institution's income was annually devoted to the payment of the college clerk or treasurer, as much more to the payment of fixed charges, and the rest given to the president and the tutor or tutors.

The Assembly of the Province turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the trustees for "countenance and support." The people of Newark and the adjacent towns seem to have kept their purse-strings tightly closed against it. Generous folk of Boston, Mass., subscribed a few hundred pounds after a time, and President Burr

was presently made very happy while on a sick bed by the good news that the college had won £200 in a lottery. The lottery, forbidden by the Jersey Assembly, thrived in Pennsylvania. Mr. Burr, during all the time the college was in Newark, did most of the teaching himself, having never more than two and sometimes only one tutor to assist him. In 1751 a few pieces of apparatus for the teaching of natural science were procured, and the next year Mr. Burr published his Latin Grammar, known as the "Newark Grammar," which was long used in the college as the standard.

THE COURSE OF STUDY.

The college course of study embraced these subjects: Latin and Greek, Elements of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric and Logic, with discourses upon doctrinal religious faith. The freshmen, at least, had little time for diversions, athletic or otherwise, as will appear from the following, an extract of a letter written by Joseph Shippen, jr., to his father in Philadelphia, on February 14, 1750:

"At seven in the morning we recite to the President lessons in the works of Xenophon, in Greek, and in Watts' Ontology. The rest of the morning until dinner time, we study Cicero de Oratore and the Hebrew Grammar and recite our lessons to Mr. Sherman (the college tutor). The remaining part of the day we spend in the study of Xenophon and Ontology, to recite the next morning. And besides these things, we dispute once every week after the syllogistic method; and now and then we learn Geography."

The college was removed to Princeton in the fall of 1756, where a house for President Burr and a building for the institution had been prepared. It took seventy students with it, and during its stay in Newark about ninety had been graduated.

Newark felt the departure of Mr. Burr quite as keenly as it did the removal of the college; probably more so, since it seems to have made no effort to retain it, although the townspeople opposed his going, bitterly.

DR. BURR'S MARRIAGE.

Four years before he departed from Newark, Mr. Burr went on a journey in New England (probably in search of funds to keep his college going), and when he returned announced, no doubt to the great amazement of the college and town, that, after fifteen years of single blessedness since his coming to Newark, he was about to take unto himself a wife. Joseph Shippen, jr., the student already quoted, like a dutiful son, promptly wrote his father all about it, on July 6, 1752, as follows:

YOUNG SHIPPEN'S LETTERS.

"Dear and Honoured Sir:—

"The best piece of news I have now to furnish you with is the marriage of our President. As this must come very unexpected to you, I shall give you an account of his proceedings as brief as they were themselves. In the latter end of May he took a journey into New England, and during his absence he made a visit of but three days to the Rev. Mr. [Jonathan] Edward's daughter, at Stockbridge, Mass., in which short time, though he had no acquaintance with, nor, indeed, ever saw the lady these six years, I suppose he accomplished his whole design; for it was not a fortnight after his return here before he sent a young fellow, who came out of College last Fall, into New England, to conduct her and her mother down here.

"They came to town on a Saturday evening, the 27th inst., and on the Monday evening following, the nuptial ceremonies were celebrated between Mr. Burr and the young lady. As I have yet no manner of acquaintance with her, I cannot describe to you her qualifications and properties; however, they say she is a very valuable lady. I think her a person of great beauty, though I must say that in my opinion she is rather young (being only twenty-one (?) years of age) for the President. This account you'll doubtless communicate to Mammy as I learn she has Mr. Burr's happiness much at heart. I conclude with my love and duty to her, love to ———&c., &c., and am with due esteem

"Your very dutiful and affectionate son,

"J. Shippen, jr."

N. B.—Mr. Burr was in his thirty-seventh year.

Mrs. Burr was the third daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, who was one of his son-in-law's successors to the Presidency of New Jersey College. Shippen guessed the young

lady's age wrong. She was but nineteen. Later, Shippen wrote his father: "I can't omit acquainting you that our President enjoys all the happiness the married state can afford. I am sure when he was in the condition of celibacy the pleasure of his life bore no comparison to that he now possesses. From the little acquaintance I have with his lady I think her a woman of very good sense, of a genteel and virtuous education, amiable in her person, of great affability and agreeableness in conversation and a very excellent economist. These qualifications may help you to frame some idea of the person who lives in the sincerest mutual affection with Mr. Burr."

A WOMAN OF RARE QUALITIES.

But we do not have to rely upon the estimate of an enthusiastic college student. Mrs. Burr was a woman of unusual gifts, and no doubt many a student left the college for the world in those early days a better and truer man for her influence. One writer has left this: "She exceeded most of her sex in the beauty of her person, as well as in her behavior and conversation. She discovered an unaffected natural freedom toward persons of all ranks with whom she conversed. Her genius was more than common. She had a lively imagination, a quick and penetrating discernment, and a good judgment. She possessed an uncommon degree of wit and vivacity, which yet was consistent with pleasantness and good nature; and she knew how to be facetious and sportive, without trespassing on the bounds of decorum or of strict and serious religion. In short, she seemed formed to please, especially to please one of Mr. Burr's taste and character, in whom he was exceedingly proud."

Mrs. Burr was the first woman to be permitted any acknowledgement of particular personal worth in the whole history of Newark up to her time, and she richly deserves the extended notice of her given here.

Aaron, the unfortunate son of this union, was born here in Newark, in the parsonage, a few months before the college was

* "Edwards' Life Works," vol 1, p. 551.

removed. His sister, Sarah, was also born here, a year or so older than he. Their father died less than a year after the removal to Princeton, and their mother followed him a few months later. All their immediate relatives soon passed away and the children were left in the care of more distant members of the family. Aaron was troublesome from early boyhood and his mother wrote of him with what might almost seem ominous prevision: "Aaron is a little, dirty, noisy dog, very different from Sally, almost in everything. He begins to talk a little and is very sly and mischievous. He is very resolute and requires a 'good governor' to bring him to terms."

But there seems to have been no "governor" for him. He did about as he pleased, and when it pleased him to enter Princeton, he made his mark, for he had inherited much of his parents' brilliancy. The fact that after becoming the third Vice-President of the United States he permitted himself to fall into disgrace may in some measure be accounted for by the loss of his parents in infancy. Indeed, this more charitable view of Aaron Burr has in latter years gained wide prevalence.

THE COLLEGE'S INFLUENCE ON NEWARK.

The College of New Jersey was to an extent instrumental in bringing new life and energy into Newark. The town grew somewhat in population and began to develop its industries as never before. Unconsciously, it was preparing itself for stirring events. It was during Mr. Burr's pastorate that the full separation of "church and State" in Newark, the thing above all things that the founders had striven to avert for all time, was accomplished. On June 7, 1753, a charter of incorporation was obtained from Governor Belcher for the First Church. This charter, in a modified form, continues in force to this day. While previous to the incorporation, from the founding of the town, the salary of the church's pastor had been voted in town meeting, and the town was liable for its payment, it really was paid to Mr. Burr and a number of his predecessors by only those who were directly interested in the church.

Trinity Church already had been incorporated and sustained its own pastor, as did the Orange Church, that of the "Mountain Society." Complete separation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs in what was then Newark, was therefore brought about by the First Church's incorporation.

A REMARKABLE ROLL OF HONOR.

Over ninety young men were graduated from the College of New Jersey while it was in Newark, or received part of their education while here before the institution was removed. The list is a remarkable one, and the proportion of graduates who climbed to high places is surprising. This little group of young men whose minds were trained, whose faculties were cultivated and who were inspired to strive for greater things, here in Newark, exercised a profound influence upon the advancement of the country. It so happened that the College of New Jersey was established at just the right time to prepare men for the great struggle for independence. The Newark graduates were men of middle life when the war came and their services were of incalculable value. The following list of the leading members of that little group of graduates or students of the college while in Newark will interest many and tell its own story line by line:

Class of 1748—Israel Read; trustee of Princeton, 1761-1793; A. M., Princeton, 1751. Richard Stockton; trustee Princeton, 1757-1781; clerk board of trustees, Princeton, 1757-1765; member of Provincial Council, New Jersey, 1768-1776; Judge Supreme Court of New Jersey, 1774-1776; member Continental Congress, 1776-1777; signer Declaration of Independence; A. M., Princeton, 1751.

Class of 1749—William Burnet; surgeon Second Regiment, Essex county, N. J., 1776-1777; lieutenant colonel, physician and surgeon general, Eastern Department, Continental army, 1777-1780; major, hospital physician, Continental army, 1780-1781; lieutenant colonel, chief hospital physician, Continental army, 1781-1783; presiding judge Court of Common Pleas, Essex county, N. J., 17—; A. M., Princeton, 1752. John Todd, A. M., Princeton, 1753.

Class of 1750—James Beard, A. M., Yale, hon. 1754. Alexander Clinton, A. M., M. D. Daniel Farrand, A. M., Princeton, 1753; also Yale, hon. 1777.

Class of 1751—Jonathan Badger; tutor Princeton, 1752-1755; A. M., Princeton, 1754. Samuel Clark, A. M., hon. Yale, 1757. Alexander Gordon, tutor Princeton, 1752-1754. Robert Henry, A. M., Princeton, 1754. Samuel McClintock, A. M., D. D.; chaplain French and Indian War; chaplain 2nd New Hampshire Regiment, Continental army, 1775; A. M., Princeton, 1755; Yale, 1755; Harvard, 1761, hon. D. D. Yale, 1791. Henry Martin, A. M., Princeton, 1754. Benjamin Youngs Prime, tutor Princeton, 1756-1757; A. M., Princeton, 1754; also Yale, 1761, hon.; M. D., Leyden, 1764. Robert Ross, A. M., Princeton, 1754; also Yale, 1754, hon. Nathaniel Scudder, member Continental Congress, 1777-1779; lieutenant colonel 1st Regiment, Monmouth county, N. J., militia, 1776; colonel of same regiment, 1776-1781; trustee Princeton, 1778-1781; member New Jersey Assembly, 1780-1781; A. M., Princeton, 1756; M. D.

Class of 1752—George Duffield, tutor Princeton, 1754-1756; trustee Princeton, 1777-1790; chaplain Continental Congress; chaplain Continental army, 1776-1777; A. M., Princeton, 1755; D. D., Yale, 1785. Jeremiah Halsey, tutor Princeton, 1757-1767; trustee Princeton, 1770-1780; clerk board of trustees, Princeton, 1772; A. M., Princeton, 1755. Samuel Livermore, member New Hampshire Provincial Assembly, 1768-1770; judge advocate of Admiralty, New Hampshire, 1769; attorney, New Hampshire, 1769-1774; attorney-general, New Hampshire, 1776-1780; member Continental Congress, 1780-1782, 1785-1786; chief justice Supreme Court of New Hampshire, 1782-1790; member New Hampshire Constitutional Convention, 1788; United States representative from New Hampshire, 1789-1790; United States senator from New Hampshire, 1793-1801; president United States Senate, 1799-1800; president New Hampshire Constitutional Convention, 1791; A. M., Princeton, 1755; L.L. D., Dartmouth, 1792. Nathaniel Whitaker, A. M., Princeton, 1755; D. D., St. Andrews, 1767; also Dartmouth, 1780.

Class of 1753—Daniel Isaac Brown, prothonotary, Bergen county, N. J., 1776; member New Jersey Constitutional Convention, 1776; major Fourth Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers (Loyalists), 1778, 1780; A. M., Princeton, 1758; also Columbia, 1758, hon. John Harris, member South Carolina Provincial Congress. Robert Harris, trustee Princeton, 1761-1815; A. M., Princeton, 1759; M. D. Lewis Ogden, clerk Prerogative Court, New Jersey, 1765-1772; member New Jersey Provincial Congress, 1776; member of committee drafting New Jersey Constitution, 1776. Nathaniel Potter, A. M., Harvard, 1758, hon. Joseph Shippen, jr., captain in Colonel Clapham's regiment, Pennsylvania Provincial troops, 1756-1758; brigade major, 1758; lieutenant colonel, 1758-1762; secretary Province of Pennsylvania, 1762-1776; Pennsylvania commissioner to Indian Treaty, 1768; judge of County Court, Lancaster, Pa., 1789-1810.

Class of 1754—Benjamin Chapman, A. M., Yale, 1761, hon. John Ewing, tutor Princeton, 1756-1758; professor natural philosophy, University of Pennsylvania, 1758-1759; provost University of Pennsylvania, 1779-1802; A. M., Princeton, 1757; also U. of P., 1759; D. D. Edinburgh, 1773. Ezra Horton, A. M., Yale, 1772, hon. Hugh Knox, A. M., Yale, 1768, hon.; D. D. Glasgow, 17—. David Mathews, mayor of city of New York, 1775-1776; judge of Police Court, New York City, 1777; major New York Loyalist troops; register New York Court of Admiralty, 1782; attorney general Cape Breton; commander-in-chief at Cape Breton; A. M., Columbia, 1758, hon. Jonathan Odell, surgeon and chaplain British army, 1776; councilor and secretary Province of New Brunswick, 1785; A. M., Princeton, 1757. Sylvanus Osborn, A. M., Yale, 1757, hon. Benaiah Root, A. M., Dartmouth, 1784, hon. Josiah Sherman, chaplain 7th Connecticut Regiment, 1777; A. M., Harvard, 1758, hon.; also Yale, 1765, hon. William Shippen, jr., fellow Edinburg Medical College; professor anatomy, Philadelphia Medical College, 1765-1792; chief physician Flying Camp, 1776; director general General Hospital Department, 1777-1781; professor of anatomy and surgery, University of Pennsylvania, 1792-1808; trustee of Princeton, 1765-1796; A. M., Princeton, 1763; M. D., Edinburgh, 1761. William Thomson, tutor Princeton, 1755-1756. Noah Wadhams, A. M., Yale, hon.

Class of 1755—Jonathan Baldwin, steward Columbia, 1756 (?), 1757 (?); steward Princeton, 1757 (?), 1773, 1781-1782; member New Jersey Provincial Congress, 1775; A. M., Princeton, 1758. Benoni Bradner, private New York Line, Continental army; A. M., Princeton, 1758; also Yale, 1758, hon. Thaddeus Burr, member Connecticut Assembly, 1769-1771, 1775-1776, 1778-1779; justice of the peace, Fairfield county, Conn., 1777-1778, 1782; high sheriff of Fairfield county, 1779; member of Connecticut Constitutional Convention, 1778; A. M., Yale, 1759, hon. William Crawford, surgeon general Ruggle's regiment, French and Indian War; chaplain Colonel Fry's regiment, and of Colonel Abijah Willard's regiment, French and Indian War; surgeon, British army, Fort Pownal, 1764-1765; justice Penobscot River and Bay; A. M., Harvard, 1761, hon.; M. D. Joseph Montgomery, master Nassau Hall Grammar School, 1757-1758; tutor University of Pennsylvania, 1759-1760; chaplain Delaware regiment, Continental army, 1776; brigade chaplain, 1778-1780; member Pennsylvania Assembly, 1780-1781; member Continental Congress, 1780-1784; A. M., Princeton, 1758; also Yale, 1760, hon.; also University of Pennsylvania, hon. Isaac Smith, tutor Princeton, 1757-1758; colonel 1st Regiment, Hunterdon county, N. J., militia, 1776-1777; judge New Jersey Supreme Court, 1777-1795; United States Representa-

tive from New Jersey, 1795-1797; fellow New Jersey Medical Society; A. M., Princeton, 1758; also University of Pennsylvania, 1761, hon.

Class of 1756—Alexander Martin, member North Carolina Assembly, 1774-1775; presiding judge District Court, Salisbury county, N. C., 1775; lieutenant colonel 2nd North Carolina regiment, 1775; colonel, 1776-1777; member North Carolina Senate, 1779-1782, 1785-1788, 1804-1805; speaker North Carolina Senate, 1780-1782; acting governor North Carolina, 1781; governor North Carolina, 1782-1785, 1789, 1792; United States Senator from N. C., 1793-1799; member United States Constitutional Convention, 1786; trustee University of North Carolina, 1790-1807; president board of trustees University N. C., 1792-1793; A. M., 1759; L.L. D., Princeton, 1793. Josiah Ogden, A. B., Columbia, 1758, hon. Jesse Root, Captain Hartford, Conn., volunteers, 1776; lieutenant colonel Connecticut volunteers, 1776-1777; adjutant general Connecticut, 1777; justice of peace, Hartford county, Conn., 1777; member Connecticut Senate, 1778-1780; member Continental Congress, 1778-1783; State Attorney, Conn., 1785-1789; judge Connecticut Supreme Court, 1789-1796; chief justice, Connecticut Supreme Court, 1796-1807; A. M., Yale, 1766, hon.; L.L. D., Yale, 1800. Azel Roe, trustee Princeton, 1778-1807; moderator General Assembly, 1802; D. D., Yale, 1800.

Class of 1757—Caleb Barnum, chaplain Western Division, Continental army; A. M., Princeton, 1760; also Harvard, 1768, hon. Nicholas Bayard, alderman, New York City. Noah Benedict, fellow at Yale, 1801-1802; A. M., Yale, 1760, hon. Caleb Curtis, member Massachusetts Assembly, 1787; member Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1788; A. M., Princeton, 1760. Timothy Edwards, justice of the peace, Essex county, N. J., 1767; member Massachusetts Provincial Council, 1775-1780; commissary Continental army; probate judge, Berkshire county, Mass., 1778-1787; commissioner to Indians; commissioner on New York-Massachusetts boundary; A. M., Princeton, 1760. William Kirkpatrick, trustee Princeton, 1767-1769; A. M. Princeton, 1760. Alexander Macwhorter, pastor of old First Church of Newark, N. J., before, during and after the War for Independence; chaplain Knox's Artillery Brigade, N. J.; president Charlotte Academy, North Carolina, 1779-1780; trustee Princeton, 1772-1807; A. M., Princeton, 1760; Yale, 1776, hon. Joseph Reed, president Pennsylvania State Convention, 1775; lieutenant colonel and military secretary Washington's staff, 1775-1776; colonel and adjutant general Continental army, 1776-1777; member Continental Congress, 1777-1778; attorney general of Pennsylvania, 1778-1780; member and president Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, 1778-1780; trustee of Princeton, 1780-

1785; trustee University of Pennsylvania, 1782-1785; A. M., Princeton, 1760; also University of Pennsylvania, 1760, hon. James Smith, professor of chemistry and materia medica, Columbia, 1767-1770; M. D., Leyden, 1764. Stephen Sayre, captain Suffolk county, N. Y., militia, French and Indian War, 1759; sheriff of London, England, 1773-1774; secret agent in Longon, Eng., for France, 1792; A. M., Harvard, 1766, hon. Samuel Taylor, 2nd lieutenant Brewer's Massachusetts regiment, 1775 (?); A. M., Yale, 1765, hon. John Treat, tutor Princeton, 1758-1760; chaplain Continental army; A. M., Princeton, 1760. Henry Wells, A. M., Yale, 1760, hon.; M. D., Dartmouth, 1802.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT NEWARK RIOTS—FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS
—COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER—NEW ROADS—
FIRST STAGE LINES.

CHAPTER XL.

THE GREAT NEWARK RIOTS—FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS—COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER—NEW ROADS—FIRST STAGE LINES.

THE last important demonstrations on the part of the people against the Lords Proprietors, the monarchs of the land, began in Newark and Essex county in 1745, almost simultaneously with the establishment of the College of New Jersey in the town, and continued intermittently during the time that the college was here. It was the War for Independence, in fact, that ended them. In 1745, New Jersey was called upon to take her part in the struggles of the colonies against the French and the Indians, and the people of Newark and of Essex were to a greater or less extent involved in the wars that followed each other quite closely during the next twenty years. This chapter, therefore, is taken up largely with the troubles over the land and the wars, two influences of tremendous force in preparing the people for the mighty struggle for full independence which was to follow. The land troubles showed the people what they could accomplish against those high in authority when they stood with fearlessness and determination for what they believed to be their rights, and the wars developed their military ardor and fitness for the field.

For nearly thirty years, from 1717 to 1745, there was little friction between the people and the Lords Proprietors over the land, simply because the latter did not attempt during that period to enforce their title or to recover their quit-rents. Large tracts of lands in East Jersey had, however, under the ancient Carteret title, gotten into the hands of two men, Robert Hunter Morris, a son of Governor Morris, and James Alexander, the former the chief justice in the colony and the latter the colonial secretary.

"These gentlemen," says Gordon in his History of New Jersey, "with other extensive proprietors, during the life of Governor Morris and towards the close of his administration, commenced

actions of ejectment and suits of recovery of quit-rents against many of the settlers. These immediately resorted to their Indian titles for defence, and formed an association, consisting of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the eastern part of Middlesex, the whole of Essex, part of Somerset and part of Morris counties; who were enabled by their union and violence to bid defiance to the law, to hold possession of the lands which were fairly within the Indian grant." Other persons, however, who had no title to the lands they held under the Indian grants, took advantage of this uprising of the "associators," joining with them to save their own lands under the cloak spread by the holders of Indian titles.

"The prisons," continues Gordon, "were no longer competent to keep those whom the laws condemned to confinement. * * * During several consecutive years¹ all persons confined for like cause or on charge of high treason and rebellion from resisting laws were released at the will of the insurgents, so that the arm of the government was in this regard wholly paralyzed. Persons who had long holden under the proprietors were forcibly ejected, others compelled to take leases from landlords whom they were not disposed to acknowledge, whilst those who had the courage to stand out were threatened with, and in many instances received, personal violence."

Governor Belcher and his Council took a very dark view of the situation. They were strongly disposed to treat the offenders as rebels and traitors to the Crown, with much the same spirit as that which animated the King's officers a quarter of a century later when the War for Independence broke in all its fury. They drew up a riot act, which they sent to the Assembly, modeled after that of England, making it a felony without benefit of clergy, "for twelve or more, tumultuously assembled together, to refuse to disperse upon the requisition of civil authority." The Assembly rejected the bill, despite the ragings and fomentings of the Governor and his Council. The people's representatives were, in fact,

¹ From 1745.

more or less strongly in sympathy with the people, although they more than once vehemently condemned the inadequate military force to reduce the rioters to subjection or to guard prisons.

It is impossible for us to-day to determine to how great a degree the Governor and those about him, and the people on the other hand, were in error. A number of the Governor's Council were Lords Proprietors who for three generations had been held in something closely akin to abhorrence by the people. The latter had much justice on their side and were thrown into a state of violent protest at the very mention of the proprietary rights to the land. They were made even more indignant by a petition to the King submitted by the Lords Proprietors in 1749, in which the course of the people in protecting their titles to the land was portrayed in insulting and arrogant language, with a view to stirring the home government to suppress the people by force, as traitors to the Crown. The Assembly filed a counter petition with the King in which it was asserted:

"That the proprietaries of East New Jersey had, from the first settlement, surveyed, patented and divided their lands, by Concessions among themselves, in such a manner as from thence many irregularities had ensued, which had occasioned multitudes of controversies and law suits about titles and boundaries of land. That these controversies had subsisted between a number of poor people on the one part and some of the rich, understanding and powerful on the other part." The petition also asserted that, in the Assembly's opinion, the disorder of the people in no way indicated any disaffection to the King or his government, but was caused by an uneasiness that sprang from a fear that the proprietaries might be powerful enough to so influence the courts and the courts' officers as to wrest their land from them by legal procedure.

THE JAIL DELIVERY OF 1746.

The greatest disturbances occurred in Newark; indeed, this community and Essex county have usually been in the lead in every public movement since the very days of the founders. "We have

just now received," remarked the New York Weekly Post-Boy, in its issue of January 20, 1746, "the following account of a very extraordinary riot at Newark, on Thursday last, viz.: The day before, one Nehemiah Baldwin, with two others, were apprehended there by order of the Governor in Council, for being concerned in a former riot,² and committed to jail. In the morning one of them offer'd to give bail, and the sheriff for that purpose took him out in order to carry him to the judge. But on their way thither, a great number of persons appeared armed with cudgels, coming down from the back settlements,³ immediately rescued the prisoner in a very violent manner, contrary to his own desire. Upon this the sheriff retreated to the jail,⁴ where he raised thirty men of the militia, with their officers, in order to guard it; but by two o'clock in the afternoon the mob being increased to about 300 strong, marched with the utmost intrepidity to the prison, declaring that if they were fired on, they would kill every man. And after breaking through the guard, wounding and being wounded, they got to the jail, which they broke open, setting at liberty all the prisoners they could find, as well debtors as others, and then marched off in triumph, using many threat'ning expressions against all those who had assisted the authority. Several of the guard as well as of the mob were much wounded and bruised, and 'tis thought one of the latter is past recovery. What may be the consequence of this affair, is not easy to guess."

This demonstration reminds one of the daring defiance of the constituted authority late in the seventeenth century and described in a previous chapter, occurring at the same place and for much the same cause. Now, however, the people had an organization which they did not possess in the earlier riots. The "associators" were sprinkled all through the county, and could be assembled swiftly, as the above account tells of the mob growing to large proportions in a few hours, in response to the call for action sent

² In September of the same year.

³ From what are now Springfield, the Oranges, Montclair, Bloomfield, &c.

⁴ At Broad street, just south of Branford place.

in every direction, no doubt. In this we see the genesis of the "minute men" of the Revolution. In the boldness and determination of the "associators" we discern the same courage that characterized the colonists in the struggle with the Crown thirty years later. At this time Essex county's population (as the county, much larger than at present, was defined) was about 7,000, which included 450 slaves. The total population of the entire province of New Jersey was about 32,000.

GOVERNOR BELCHER'S WARNING.

Commenting upon this disturbance, Governor Belcher, in his speech to the Assembly in 1746, said: "His Majesty's Attorney General will lay before you an account of a great riot, or rather insurrection, at Newark. This was a natural consequence of one that was some time before that; and though I did what by advice of his Majesty's Council they judged at that time sufficient to put a check to an evil that had too great a probability of growing bigger, and to prevent its doing so; yet (as appears) it was without the effect intended. So open and avowed an attempt in defiance of the government and contempt of the laws, if not High Treason, make so nigh approaches to it, as seems too likely to end in Rebellion, and throwing off his majesty's authority, if timely measures be not taken to check the intemperance of a too licentious multitude; I therefore recommend this matter to your most serious consideration."

The Governor's warning in the light of subsequent events seems to-day almost prophetic. But it is certain the people of Essex at that time never so much as thought of striving to throw off the yoke of Great Britain, and they were almost immediately to show their devotion to the King by springing to arms to defend his domains against the French and the natives.

A little more light, although from a prejudiced source, is shed upon the temper of the people of Essex and their methods of operation during the period now under consideration, in the petition of the Lords Proprietors to the King in 1747, in the following:

"that since the first riot in Essex * * * they, the said rioters, have gone on like a torrent, bearing down all before them; dispossessing some people of their estates, and giving them to their accomplices and dividing the spoil; the keeping daily in armed numbers, and traveling often in armed multitudes to different parts of the Province, for those purposes; the presuming to establish the courts of justice and appointing captains and officers over his Majesty's subjects; the laying and collecting of taxes."

The Assembly denied the truth of the above, but from other sources it is plain enough that there was considerable of fact in it. The Essex "associators" were clearly the most powerful and best organized throughout all the Province, and that they did travel about the adjacent counties urging their neighbors to stand firm for what they deemed their rights, is well established. Whenever any of the rioters were brought to trial it was next to impossible to get a jury to convict them.

There were several jail deliveries in Newark, and the crowds were always daring and determined. The "associators" seem to have held their meetings openly, often posting notices announcing them on tavern doors and other prominent places.

Almost the entire county of Essex—and the exceptions were usually those holding office under the provincial government—was openly or secretly allied with the "associators." When asked why they sided with the rioters, well known men would say that while they had no personal concern in the troublous state of affairs, they felt their neighbors were being wronged by the Proprietors and "would assist them and see it out." It was estimated that about one-half of the rioters held their lands under Proprietary titles, that about a fourth had both Proprietary and Indian titles and "that of the remaining quarter great numbers have no pretence to any right either Proprietary or Indian, and but a very few have Indian right only." From this it is quite clear that the vast majority of the people of Essex were fighting for a principle, and not alone to promote their selfish personal interests.

ESSEX COUNTY THE BATTLEGROUND.

In 1755 a statement was made to the Governor by a committee of the Assembly which concluded as follows: "That the riots which have disturbed the peace of the Province since the year 1745 have been principally committed by the people of the county of Essex, and the said people on the society's said tract, who we hope * * * are generally sensible of their errors, and that no more opposition may come from them to the course of justice and legal proceedings as to the many riots committed within two years past near the line of New York and this Province."

After 1755 we hear little more of land riots for fifteen years. In 1770 they broke out with renewed fury and were practically the last stroke in accomplishing Newark's preparedness for the war for liberty, as we shall see in the next chapter.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

War between Great Britain and France had been going on for some time, but was not declared until March, 1744. The King of England and his ministers called upon the Provinces through the governors to co-operate with the mother country in the conquest of Canada. An expedition was conducted from New England to Louisburg, in two months, showing the pluck and the steadiness of tried and disciplined troops; an achievement for which the Crown was apparently loath to give the colonists the great credit they deserved. In May, two years later, the Provincial governors were called on to do their part in organizing a movement on Canada by way of New York. The New Jersey Assembly resolved to raise a force of five hundred men. The people responded almost instantly, for in less than two months six hundred and fifty men had offered themselves for enlistment.

COLONEL PETER SCHUYLER.

This little command, the first in the history of New Jersey to be organized and equipped for service without its borders, was led by Colonel Peter Schuyler, a patriotic and public-spirited

gentleman and a gallant soldier, a resident of Newark as it was then constituted. He is the most striking and inspiring character in all Newark's early history after the founders, from the days of Robert Treat and the Rev. Abraham Pierson. He was a son of Arent Schuyler, whose father, Peter Schuyler, afterwards the first chief magistrate of Albany, first took up ground in what is now Arlington, whose homestead covered a large part of the territory now within that section's limits, as well as much of Kearny. The first manor house is believed to have stood about where what is now Cromwell avenue and the road from the Belleville bridge cross, and east of where for many years there was a reservoir for Jersey City's drinking water.

It was in the time of Colonel Schuyler's father, Arent, that copper was discovered on the estate and the mine known later as the "Belleville copper mine" was started. Colonel Schuyler's elder brother, John, inherited the homestead and the mine, but the Colonel fell heir to a splendid property, which made him one of the richest men in the upper section of Jersey. He used his wealth in the defense of his country and for the betterment of mankind about him.

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Colonel Schuyler and his command of five companies marched to Albany in the early fall of 1746, where they arrived only to learn that the proposed expedition into Canada had been abandoned because of the failure of England to keep her promise and send troops to co-operate in the movement. Schuyler and his men remained throughout the winter and for about a year, guarding the frontier, with the New York volunteers, (to whom this Province had contributed one company representing the surplus of enlistment over the five hundred asked for by the Jersey Assembly).

We may be certain that many of Colonel Schuyler's soldiers were recruited from Newark and Essex county, where he was universally known and held in the highest esteem. In a letter written in June, 1747, we read: "just now came to town [New York] advice that the Fort of Saraghtoga is besieged by the enemy.

Col. Peter Schuyler, a gentleman who seems to have the welfare of his country well to heart, I hear is to-morrow to march up with the Jersey forces to the relief of the garrison, which I hope he may effect." Nothing was accomplished, however, and not long afterwards the Jersey regiment returned home, the peace of Aix la Chappelle being declared in 1748.

The effort failed chiefly through the miserable management of the home government, which neither sent reinforcements nor instructions for the advance of the Provincial forces. "This affair," says Gordon, in his History of New Jersey, "was one of the thousand instances of incapacity and misrule which the parent state inflicted upon her dependent American progeny." And which, we may add, was just one more influence in the preparation of the colonies for the coming struggle for independence. The Jersey and New York forces were disbanded in the fall of 1747, but the Jersey-men would not have remained in the field nearly so long, had not it been for the generosity of their leader.

For months the men were unpaid. They chafed under this and because of the lack of employment, until they mutinied. Colonel Schuyler sympathized with his men, and, failing to induce the Jersey Assembly to provide the pay, it already having expended more than £20,000 in equipping, transporting and provisioning the command, he paid his soldiers himself. He expended several thousand pounds.

THE SECOND CALL TO ARMS.

The French paid little attention to the peace treaty. They were constantly active along the frontier, and were exceedingly successful in inflaming the Indians against the English colonies. These activities caused great unrest. On New Year's day, 1755, President Burr, of the New Jersey College, and then pastor of the original church in Newark, preached a fiery sermon which was printed and circulated widely. This synopsis of it serves to indicate to us the temper of the times: "This piece contains some reasonable reflections upon the following topics: On the growing and dangerous

power of France under the House of Bourbon. The ambitious attempts of that house for the establishment of universal monarchy. The present treacherous designs against the British Colonies in America. The severities executed upon French Protestant subjects. * * * And the importance of immediate, united and vigorous measures for repelling the insults of our enemies and defending our country and liberties."

Colonel Schuyler was at once ready to buckle on his sword again. "We also hear from New Jersey," remarks the New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy for March 10, 1755, "that the worthy Col. Peter Schuyler, near Newark, has requested and obtained leave of the Governor, to raise 400 men at his own charge, to be in readiness to the assistance of the city of New York, or any place in their neighborhood, if it should happen to be attack'd by the French or other enemies of Great Britain. Is not this patriotism indeed?"

His offer does not appear to have been actually accepted, but a little later the Assembly decided to raise a battalion of five hundred men, whereupon the Governor promptly nominated Schuyler for its colonel, "and the gentlemen's popularity was such," writes Gordon, "that the battalion was not only promptly filled, but a much larger number of men presented themselves for enlistment than were required." As a matter of fact, while five hundred were asked a thousand appeared. The arms were obtained from Virginia. Later, New Jersey was asked to increase her quota, but declined, because of the Indian outrages on the western frontier, many savage bands invading the State and murdering numbers of the people of Sussex county and along the eastern side of the Delaware. Newark and Essex County sent many men out on this Jersey frontier work. The colonies were greatly upset at this time. In October, 1756, the Presbyterian Synod of New York, in session in Newark, fixed the following Thursday as a "Day of publick fasting and prayer," because of "the dangerous situation of the publick at this juncture."

Colonel Schuyler and his men were sent to the New York frontier, and garrisoned the fort at Oswego, which was captured by Montcalm, on August 15, 1756, and all the command then there was

thrown into prison. Schuyler was at the head of the garrison of 1,400 at the time Montcalm overpowered it with 5,000 French and Indians. Schuyler's superior, Colonel Mercer, had been killed by a cannon ball.

There was intense excitement in New York and New Jersey. "After an anxious suspense for several days," ran a letter from Albany, "'tis now past all doubt that we have lost Oswego. * * * How it came to be lost is a question which no man in this colony will take upon him to determine—New Jersey has lost a regiment. She has lost more; she has lost Col. Schuyler, a brave and loyal subject who despised his own ease and all the delights of an affluent fortune for the service of his country. Who had greater inducement to content himself at home? None."

A GENTLEMAN AND A SOLDIER.

Colonel Schuyler was paroled, but on condition that if a French officer of his rank was not produced by the English, he would have to return to prison. He made his way to New York and subsequently to Newark and his home at Petersborough across the Passaic where Kearny Castle now stands (1913). But he was soon informed that the French had received no one in exchange, and that he must return. His friends and neighbors urged him to disregard this insistment of the French, but he would listen to none of them. Like the true soldier and gentleman that he was, he obeyed the conditions of his parole to the letter.

He joined his men in prison at Montreal and spent thousands of dollars in caring for them and others during their captivity, having arranged before his departure for letters of credit. He provided them with clothing and at times with food. He ministered to their needs, while sharing their confinement, with such constancy, that they came to fairly idolize him. He was released in August, 1758, together with all the other prisoners, he having charge of the exchange for the English. Strenuous efforts for his release had been made in the meantime. The King of England had directed his officers to do their utmost to get Colonel Schuyler out of captivity.

His action in the campaign of 1748, when he paid his men out of his own pocket, had been disapproved by Governor Clinton of New York, who had striven to have Schuyler disciplined for his generosity, declaring that such conduct had a bad effect upon the morale of the troops. But the king seems to have paid no heed, and to have admired Schuyler for his high-minded and generous conduct.

COLONEL SCHUYLER'S WELCOME HOME.

"During Colonel Schuyler's captivity in Canada," read one newspaper account of the time, "his gratitude to his unfortunate countrymen was without bounds, his table being ever open and free to those in distress; and we hear he has out of his own private purse expended upwards of 20,000 livres among his distressed countrymen in redeeming them from captivity."

Schuyler was welcomed as the hero that he was, upon his return to Newark in November, 1757, and in the following, from the New York Mercury of November 23, we have an account of the first demonstration in this community in honor of any individual of which there is any record:

"Last Sunday evening the Hon. Peter Schuyler, passed through this place [Newark] in his way to his Seat at Peterborough. Upon his arrival at his house he was saluted with the discharge of 13 pieces of cannon. The evening following the inhabitants of Newark, upon his coming into the town, attended by several gentlemen of distinction, saluted him as before. There was a large bonfire erected and the houses of the principal inhabitants were illuminated the remainder of the evening, as an honour due to his great attachment to the interest of his country, and uncommon zeal for his Majesty's service. The principal gentlemen met together on this occasion, where the loyal healths were drank, at the discharge of several rounds of cannon, and a general joy appeared among the inhabitants." Another account concludes:

"Joy was conspicuous on every Countenance, and each one manifested his regard due to the merit of that gentleman, whose kind and humane treatment of his fellow-sufferers while in cap-

tivity, as well as his great attachment to the interest of his country, and uncommon zeal for his Majesty's service merits universal esteem."

The whole Province warmed to him. A few weeks after his return this appeared in the New York Mercury:

"The following lines were wrote by a young lady of the Province of New Jersey, during the few minutes Col. Schuyler staid at Prince-Town, the last week, in his way at Trenton, and presented him in the most agreeable manner. As they discover so fruitful and uncommon a genius in their fair author, I doubt not that their communication to the public thro' the channel of your paper, will be acceptable to all, but more especially to your female readers:

TO THE HONOURABLE COL. PETER SCHUYLER.

"Dear to each Muse, and to thy Country dear,
Welcome once more to breathe thy native air;
Not half so cheering is the solar Ray,
To the harsh rigour of a Winter's Day;
Nor half so grateful fanning breezes rise,
When the hot Dog Star burns the Summer skies;
Caesaraes Shore with Acclamation rings,
And Welcome Schuyler, every Shepherd sings.
See for thy Brows, the Laurel is prepar'd,
And justly deem'd a Patriot, thy Reward;
Ev'n future Ages shall enroll thy Name,
In sacred Annals of immortal Fame."

LATER ENLISTMENTS—COLONEL SCHUYLER'S DEATH.

The calls for another regiment from New Jersey were urgent. In the spring of 1759 a command of one thousand men was raised and, with Colonel Schuyler at its head, saw hard service beyond Albany, returning in November of the same year. Still another regiment of the same size was demanded in 1760, and again the gallant Schuyler organized and led it back to New York State, returning like its immediate predecessor at the close of the year and after arduous campaigning. This ended Colonel Schuyler's service to his State and country. He was no doubt worn out by his experiences at the front and in the field, for he was stricken with a severe illness in the spring of 1761. He died, in March, 1762, at his beloved Petersborough.

"Yesterday morning," says the Pennsylvania Journal of March 8, 1762, "Col. Peter Schuyler departed this life, at his Seat at Newark in East-Jersey, greatly and justly lamented. He did honour to his Country, and gave a noble Example to others: And it will be allowed by all who knew him, that he was a sincere Friend, humane, beneficent and just to all Mankind." Samuel Smith, New Jersey's first historian, wrote as follows of him, about 1765:

"He had the command of the province troops against the French of Canada, in divers campaigns in the last two wars; and by the best judges of military merit was allowed to rank high in that character. He had qualities besides that greatly recommended him to his acquaintance, being of frank, open behavior, of an extensive generosity and humanity and unwearied in his endeavors to accomplish whatever appeared of service to his country. * * * As to person, he was of a tall, hardy make, rather rough at first view, yet a little acquaintance discovered a bottom of sincerity, and that he was ready to every kind office in his power. In conversation he was above artifice or the common traffick of forms, yet seemed to enjoy friendship with its true relish; and in all relations what he seemed to be he was."^s

A half length portrait, in oils, of Colonel Schuyler, is preserved in the rooms of the New Jersey Historical Society.

"JERSEY BLUE."

It has long been said that the expression "Jersey Blue" was originated during the War for Independence and that it came into being at the time a band of patriotic Newark women were engaged in fitting out a company of volunteers with uniforms in which blue played a prominent part. This is an error. The expression originated thirty years before the War for Independence, and was applied to Colonel Schuyler's hardy men, as early as 1747. From that time each succeeding regiment throughout the French and Indian Wars was spoken of as "Jersey Blues." In a letter written from Lake George, in June, 1759, we read:

"Your favours came to hand the first few days before we left Fort Edward, and the last Saturday morning, the day we marched

^s Smith's "History of New Jersey," p. 494.

for Half-Way Brook, where we encamped, and left it yesterday, and are now encamped here: as is likewise the Royal Scots, and the Jersey Blues."

Another instance is taken from a letter, written a few weeks later at the same place. It is most dramatic. Part of it is as follows:

"The second Instant, 16 of the Jersey Blues were sent without the camp to gather a little brush for General Baker, but were not an hour gone before they were surprised in sight of the camp by a party of the enemy, consisting of about 240, who killed and scalped six, wounded two, took four prisoners and only four of the party escaped. They showed themselves plainly to the whole Army after they got the scalps, gave a Hollow [halloo, or warwhoop] and then made off to their battoes* [boats or canoes]."

Information as to the precise origin of the expression "Jersey Blue" is exasperatingly brief. How it came to be used, we do not know and probably never will know. The inference that the "Blue" was derived from the distinguishing feature of their uniforms is plain enough, but beyond that we cannot go. We have, in fact, but meagre knowledge of the actual doings of the Jersey soldiers during the French and Indian Wars. The hardships they endured must have been most severe, but little or no complaint has come down to us from them. One or two things we do know, although the State has all but lost sight of them for the last hundred years: New Jersey sent several thousand men to the frontier in New York under Colonel Schuyler, at various times, who did their duty with patience and fortitude. These men held their commander, Colonel Schuyler, of Newark, as it then was, in the highest esteem, and were ever ready to rally to the colors whenever he called; and, finally, these men, veterans, were, unknown to themselves or the King whom they served, training themselves for a sterner and infinitely more important struggle that was to come a decade or so later and which was to end in the complete separation of the colonies from the mother country. Colonel Schuyler was making soldiers for the War for Independence, but neither he nor anyone else so much as dreamed of it.

* From New Jersey Archives, vol. xx, p. 364.

NEWARK'S GROWTH, 1750-1760.

Newark increased very slowly in population previous to the War for Independence. It developed its resources gradually. Much of the old Puritan conservatism still remained. But it was, thanks to the masterful foresight of its founders, strategically placed, and the old newspapers of the 1750's and 1760's carried many an item about the town and its affairs, showing that it was slowly but surely expanding to meet the changing conditions. The first mention of a store in Newark appeared in a newspaper in November, 1751, which reads as follows: "Just imported from Bristol, in the ship *Two Friends*, Capt. Wadmore, by John and Uzal Ogden, and to be sold cheap wholesale and retail at their store in Newark, for ready money or country produce at market price, a choice assortment of European goods fit for the season." How long this business had been established we have no means of knowing. In 1759 Gabriel Ogden opened a "ware-house of a great variety of goods imported in the ship *Old Grace* and the last vessels from England, to be sold very cheap for ready money."

THE OLD PLANK ROAD.

The town had paid very little attention to the opening of roads to connect with other communities outside its borders. In 1765, however, the old Plank Road was provided for by act of the Assembly; that is, the road which ever since the founding of the town had supplied communication with the marshes and the lower reaches of the river, was made part of a system of communication with Powles' Hook (now Jersey City). The announcement of the Assembly's action read, in part, as follows:

"A road from New-Ark to the publick road in the town of Bergen, leading to Poulos Hook, and establishing ferries over the two small rivers, Passaic and Hackensack, which makes the distance from Poulus Hook to New-Ark eight miles, and will be a level and good road when the cause-ways are made; and as said road will be very commodious for travelers, and give a short and easy access of a large country to the markets of the city of New-York

and be of a general benefit both to city and country, it is hoped they will unite in the necessary expence of rendering said road for travellers and carriages, more especially since by said law the public interest alone is regarded."

Thus was the accessibility of Newark from New York and its value as a place in which to assemble the products of the whole region around it for further shipment, being recognized. This enterprise was supported largely by leading residents of Newark, who became the trustees for the venture and were incorporated, with authority to receive donations, build the necessary causeways and supply the two ferries over the Passaic and Hackensack rivers.

Work upon this road was going on almost to the time of the War for Independence, and it is said that Colonel John Schuyler, the brother of Colonel Peter Schuyler, defrayed a considerable part of the expense, and roads from Petersborough connected with it. Brisson de Warville, a French traveler, was much impressed with the road. "Built wholly of wood," he wrote, "with much labor and perseverance, in the midst of water, on a soil that trembles under your feet, it proves to what point may be carried the patience of man, who is determined to conquer nature."

Another thus described his experience on the new highway: "All the way to Newark (nine miles) is a very flat, marshy country, intersected with rivers; many cedar swamps, abounding with mosquitoes, which bit our legs, and hands, exceedingly; where they fix they will continue sucking our blood, if not disturbed, till they swell four times their ordinary size, when they absolutely fall off and burst from their fulness. At two miles we cross a large cedar swamp; at three miles we intersect the road leading to Bergen, a Dutch town, half a mile on our right; at five miles we cross Hackensack [a little below the site of the present bridge at what was known as Dow's Ferry]; at six we cross Passaic River (coachee and all), in a scoul, by means of pulling a rope fastened on the opposite side."

THE NEW YORK-PHILADELPHIA ROAD.

The same year (1765) a law was passed providing for the appointment of road commissioners "to run out straight public roads leading through said province between New York and Philadelphia, and empowering them to raise a sum of money by public lottery, not exceeding £500 towards defraying the charge thereof." Ephraim Terrill and Abraham Clark, Jr., were the commissioners for both Elizabethtown and Newark. The new departure was thus commented upon at the time:

"The shortening and improving of the public roads through this Province will be a great advantage to the commercial interest and general convenience of the inhabitants thereof, as well as a very great advantage to the neighbouring Provinces, particularly to Pennsylvania and New York; and as it is the first thing of the kind that has been attempted on the Continent, it is not doubted but every public-spirited person in this, as well as the neighbouring Provinces, will generously contribute to the undertaking, tending so greatly to the advantage and ease of men of business and pleasure; as it is judged the distance between New York and Philadelphia will be shorten'd 12 or 15 miles, and the roads all made more passable and convenient for travelers in the winter season than at present."

The first New York-Philadelphia stage was established in November, 1756, by way of Perth Amboy and Trenton. The second line was started in 1765, the same year the straightening of the road was decided upon. The stages took three days to travel one way and the charge was twopence a mile. Two trips were made every week, each way. Newark did not benefit much from these early developments, for, while New York-Philadelphia stages began to pass through Newark as early as 1769, Newark was not really considered on the main stage line between New York and Philadelphia until after the War for Independence. Travelers to and from New York usually preferred to use the ferry between New York and Elizabethtown Point.

THE FIRST NEWARK-NEW YORK STAGE LINE.

It is not probable that stages were run between Newark and New York before the laying down of the old Plank Road and ferries, in 1765. In November, 1767, Matthias Ward "acquaints the publick that he still continues his stage from Newark to Powle's Hook, as usual, except that after the 20th of November he will return from Powle's Hook at eleven o'clock for the winter." The business evidently prospered, because, a year later, in 1768, Matthias Ward had a partner, John Thompson, and in July of that year they announced an expansion in a somewhat lengthy advertisement in the New York newspapers, as follows:

"The following is a new plan for a stage waggon, from Powlas Hook, proposed by the subscribers, viz: A waggon to set off every day in the week (Sundays excepted), one from Powlas Hook, and another from Mr. James Banks in Newark [probably the Rising Sun tavern which stood about where North Canal street and River street meet] precisely at half an hour past 7 o'clock in the morning, and half an hour past 4 o'clock in the evening; meet at Capt. Brown's ferry, and exchange passengers; and every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday, Ward's waggon returns immediately from the said ferry, through Newark to Elizabethtown; stays there till 3 o'clock in the afternoon and then returns back again, through Newark for Powlas Hook. Passengers from Bank's will be always on a sure footing on the Elizabethtown days, for if the waggon should be full from Elizabethtown for New York, Ward will have other waggons ready at Bank's, for the passengers who will wait there at the appointed times.

"All persons who are pleased to encourage this undertaking are desired to be punctual to the times above mentioned, as the waggons must be very exact in meeting Capt. Brown's ferry [at Paulus Hook]; and they may depend (God willing) on constant attendance and good usage.

"Fare for passengers from Powlas Hook to Newark, 1s. 6d.; from Newark to Elizabethtown, 1s. To begin (if God permit) on Friday the 15th instant."

The rule was at that time and for several years thereafter, for the stage to travel once a day to Paulus Hook from Newark, and return, every day except Sunday, in the summer, and four times a

week during the winter. In 1769 an improvement was made by the establishment of two stages, one leaving Newark at 8 in the morning and the other starting from Paulus Hook at the same time, exchanging passengers at Dow's ferry over the Hackensack, "which," as an old advertisement reads, "entirely takes off the inconveniency of detaining passengers by ferrying of the waggons over said river." The stages left their home stations at 4:30 in the afternoon, meeting at Dow's ferry as in the morning. By this arrangement it was only necessary to ferry the passengers across, something that could be done in far less time than that required for the transportation of the clumsy stages.

NEW YORK-NEWARK-PHILADELPHIA STAGE, 1769.

The first notice of a New York-Philadelphia stage passing through Newark, appeared in the Pennsylvania Chronicle in September, 1769. It was in part as follows: "The new stage to New York on the old York road sets out tomorrow, the 26th instant, from the sign of the Bunch of Grapes in Third street [Philadelphia] at sunrise, proceeds by the Crooked Billet, Coryell's Ferry, Bound Brook, Newark, and from thence to Powle's Hook, opposite New York. It will set out regularly every Tuesday morning during the winter season, perform the journey from Philadelphia to Powle's Hook in two days, and exchange passengers at the south branch of the Raritan * * * on Wednesday morning, when one stage returns to Philadelphia and the other to Powle's Hook."

The rates on this new line were to be as follows:

"Each passenger to pay ten shillings from Philadelphia to the south branch of the Raritan, and ten shillings from the south branch to Powle's Hook, ferriage free, and three pence a mile for any distance between; and goods at the rate of twenty shillings per hundred weight from Philadelphia to New York.

"That part of the country is very pleasant; the distance and goodness of the road not inferior to any from this to New York. There is but one ferry from this [Philadelphia] to Newark. The road is thickly settled by a number of wealthy farmers and mer-

chants who promise to give every encouragement possible to the stage. And as the principal proprietors of said stage live on the road, the best usage may be expected."

Such were the beginnings of transportation in this section of New Jersey. Considerable space has been given explaining the early and crude struggles to open up communication through the Province, for it was by these clumsy, and to us, ridiculously inadequate means for travel, that New Jersey now began to increase in population and to thrive in various ways.

THE EARLY FERRIES.

As for the ferries, it is plain enough that travelers dreaded them, and a stage line that could contrive to eliminate one or more from its route was sure to meet with ready patronage. They were slow and wearisome, and no doubt tried the patience of the exhausted stage passengers to the utmost. The first ferry in New Jersey of which there is any record was that established in 1669 at Communipaw, under the charge of Pieter Hetfelsen, for the accommodation of the people of Bergen, Communipaw and New York. Hetfelsen was required to keep his ferry boat in readiness for use at all times, but especially on three days in the week. The ferries across the Passaic and Hackensack must also have been in operation at a very early date, probably within a decade or so after the establishment of Hetfelsen's ferry. But the ferryman came on call; that is, if you wished to cross you had to dismount from your conveyance and hunt about until you found him, in case he did not happen to be in evidence. It is pretty certain that a systematic ferry system was not created until the building of the Plank Road already described in this chapter.

THE FIRST POST OFFICES.

Getting one's mail was a haphazard sort of business during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, indeed, until some time after the War for Independence. For a long time the only post offices were at Perth Amboy and Burlington. At first, letters

for persons in practically all sections of the provinces were sent to one or the other of these towns for distribution. In the late 1750's announcements were made in New York and Philadelphia newspapers that mail for residents of various places could be obtained from residents of the district, whose names were given, and to whom the mail was forwarded from Perth Amboy or Burlington.

There now began to appear occasional evidence of the awakening of industrial activity in Newark. In 1768, there appeared in a newspaper this announcement: "Wanted. A person that understands the nailing business in its different branches, or has been employed in that manufactory. Such a person bringing proper recommendations will meet with good encouragement, by applying to Joseph Riggs, Esq., or Joseph Hadden in Newark, New Jersey, who are entering largely into the business."

AN OLD NEWARK IRON FOUNDRY.

As early as 1768, and probably a little earlier, Newark had an iron foundry, located on the north corner of Washington and James streets, where the Second Presbyterian Church now stands. "Hollow ware of all kinds," reads an advertisement, "made at Vesuvius furnace, at Newark, in New Jersey, and allowed by the best judges to be far preferable to any made in America." Thus "made in Newark" had a meaning of commercial value nearly a decade before the War for Independence. This "hollow ware" was shipped to New York in large quantities and was sold there, precisely as many Newark manufacturers still maintain offices and warehouses in New York. Moses Ogden was one of the first proprietors of this industry, and James Abeel of New York handled the goods there. In 1769 the plant was owned by Ogden, Laight & Company, who in that year issued the following instructive advertisement:

"Makers all kinds of hollow ware and other castings usually made at air furnaces; such as forge hammers, anvils, pots, kettles, griddles, pyepans of various sizes, potash kettles and sugar boilers, calcining plates, plain and ornamental chimney backs, jaumb and hearth plates neatly fitting each other, Bath stoves for burning

coal, iron stoves for work-shops and ship cabbins, Dutch and perpetual ovens, boiling plates, boxes for carriages of all kinds and sizes, half hundred and smaller weights. As their metal is of the best quality, and the construction of their furnace, manner of working and moulding of the most improved; their ware is equal if not superior to any made in America or imported; particularly the metal for hammers and anvils for forges is excellently well tempered, and found on repeated trials to be in general superior to English hammers, &c.

"Any person wanting any of the above articles, may have them from either Edward Laight at his store in New York near Cowfoot Hill, or of James Abeel near Coenties Market, or Gabriel and Lewis Ogden at the furnace in Newark, New Jersey. Castings of any particular kind may be made by applying to any of the above persons. N. B. Bar iron will be taken in payment for hammers and anvils, at market price."

The plant was known far and wide as the "Newark stove foundry." The iron was chiefly obtained from the mines of Morris and Sussex counties, which later proved such a valuable resource to the Continental army for the manufacture of cannon balls.

A CATTLE FAIR OF 1768.

While what is now Washington Park was set aside by the first settlers as a market place, it was not intended by them as a market such as we mean by the word today. It was to be a sort of clearing house for the disposal of live stock. After its abandonment for that purpose for several generations, the practice was apparently revived in 1768, when a market or fair was instituted. There is no definite statement that what is now Washington Park was utilized for the purpose, but it is reasonable to suppose that such was the case. The following announcement made on August 16, shows how the business was conducted:

"Whereas many inconveniences frequently attend the sale of horses, horn cattle, sheep and swine, for want of some publick convenient stated market or fair, where sellers and buyers may meet for that purpose. And as the town of Newark, from its vicinity to New York and other circumstances attending its situation is by

many esteemed a most proper place for such a cattle market: It is at the request of the inhabitants of New York and New Jersey that publick notice is hereby given, that on the Third Wednesday in October next and on the Thursday and Friday following, and on the same days yearly, and every year thereafter, will be opened and held at Newark aforesaid, a publick market for the sale of all kind of horses, fat and store horn cattle, sheep, swine, and for other purposes whatsoever (except it be for the sale of the products or manufacturies of the country). Proper officers will attend for the preservation of decorum and good order."

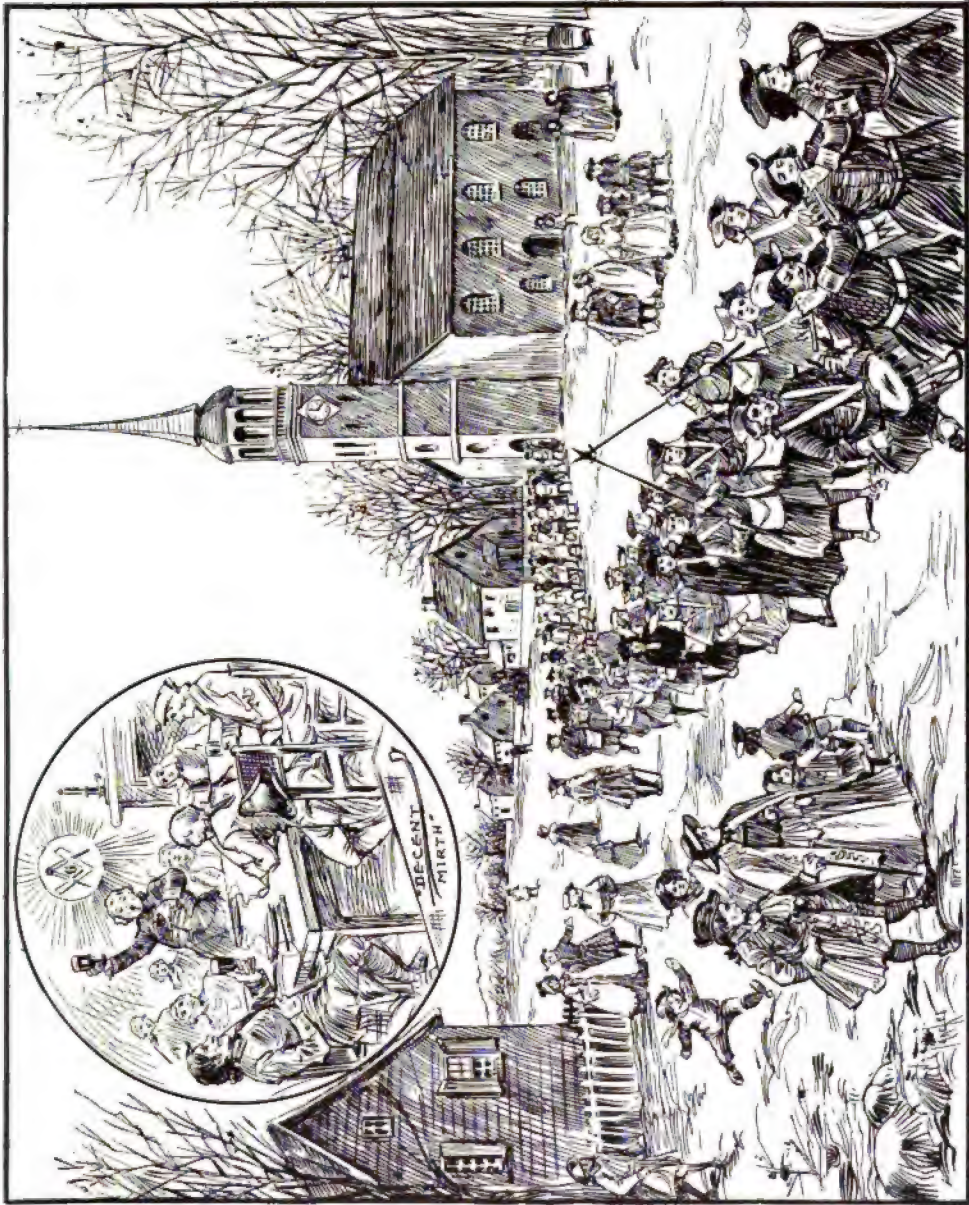
This was an important departure. It shows that Newark was becoming more widely recognized as a business centre for a large section of upper Jersey.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE OF FREE MASONS.

On May 13, 1761, the first lodge of Free Masons in the State, St. John's No. 1, and the sixth in all America, was organized, in Newark, its first lodge room being located in the Rising Sun tavern. The same year the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist "was observed here by the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free Masons. They walked in regular procession from the Lodge to church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Brown. After church they returned back to dinner, accompanied by several of the clergy and magistrates, and concluded the day in decent mirth." The services were held in Trinity Church, so that the procession most probably moved from the tavern near the junction of North Canal and River streets, up the hillside to the upper end of Military Park.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEWARK HOMES.

We are fortunately able to get a general idea of the home equipment of the Newarkers just before the War for Independence, from the "to let" and "for sale" advertisements of the times which were more or less common in the newspapers of the day. It may be said in this connection that there were practically no poor people in the town at that time. No one was very wealthy, but all had



ST. JOHN'S LODGE OF FREE MASONS OBSERVING ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST'S DAY FOR THE FIRST TIME
1761

From a drawing made for the Newark Sunday Call by Edwin S. Fancher

their homes. There were very few squalid or mean habitations. There was plenty of land for everyone; none was crowded and there were no homes of extreme magnificance or grandeur. The people lived in comparative comfort; their wants were few and simple. One of the more pretentious of Newark's homesteads was put upon the market in 1767, and the published description of it was as follows:

"This is to give notice, that there will be sold on the first day of April next, in the town of Newark in the county of Essex, and province of East Jersey, by Samuel Huntington, senior; A large, stately stone dwelling house, with five fireplaces, a very large cellar, and a smaller one, very convenient for a gentleman, being on the main road, and within less than half a mile of Newark [First Presbyterian] church, and has a good well and brook before the door that never freezes; there is a large barn and a good distil-house [for making apple whiskey]; a neat apple orchard, peach orchard, and a variety of other fruit trees; also a 6-acre lot of good mowing ground. It is very convenient for distillers, as there is a dam already made on the brook, with a gentle descent so as to fill his cisterns without the help of a pump; there is likewise 14 acres of good mowing ground within a quarter of a mile of the house, with 60 apple trees on the same."

The following year a house was offered for rent, for one year, "to be entered upon immediately. The pleasantly situated and convenient dwelling house and lot of Philip Van Cortlandt at Newark," reads the notice, "the house is new and large, being two stories high, with four good rooms on each floor, a large kitchen, barn, stable and garden adjoining; There may be cut hay enough off the lot for a horse and two cows, besides pasturing for them for the summer * * * the whole extremely well contrived and calculated for a gentleman's country seat; especially as it is only the short distance of eight miles from New York, to which place a stage waggon goes from Newark every day in the week during the summer season, (except Sunday) and four times a week during the winter season. The house is three hundred yards distant from the Passaic river and about half that distance from the English [Trinity] church."

NEWARK A PLACE FOR "COUNTRY SEATS."

The propinquity of Newark to New York was thus recognized even before the War for Independence, and the fact that stages ran between the two communities was quite as much an asset to the Newark real estate owner of those days as is the high speed McAdoo line of today. Indeed, the property last described was well within what is now the Park Place terminal zone.

Another estate was offered for sale in 1769, in the neighborhood of Fourth avenue, as follows: "To be sold at private sale, and entered into immediately, the farm of Captain James Gray, lying on the banks of the river Passaic, about one mile from the [First] church at Newark, which from its location has perhaps more incitements to induce a gentleman who wants a country seat, to pay his attention to it, and will more probably please any elegant taste than any in the country, as it is capable of almost every improvement. There are on the farm two good dwelling houses, barn, stable and coach house. It contains 20 acres of excellent land, which is well manag'd and improv'd, will afford bread corn for a small family, besides grass and hay for three horses and four or five cows, a good orchard and a large garden.

"It commands a most extensive view of the river, and overlooks Capt. Kennedy's farm, garden and deer park, at Petersborough, to which it is opposite. The river abounds with fish and wild fowl in their season, which may be taken within a few rods distant from the house. There is about one mile from the said farm, about 10 acres of good wood land that will be sold with said farm or separate, as may best suit the purchasers.'

A good idea of what a house in the very centre of the town was like in 1769 may be gained from the "to-let" advertisements of property to the east of Washington Park: "A very genteel house in Newark, in East New Jersey, two stories high, containing eight rooms with fireplaces, a spacious garret and a cellar under the whole house, with a handsome kitchen and a new barn. Also about

' Newark was but a village at that time and many New Yorkers established their summer homes or country estates here. Capt. Kennedy was an officer of the British Navy. His manor house stood where Kearny Castle does to-day (1913).

3 acres of land adjoining the same. The house is beautifully situated in the front or market square, leading to Passaic river and about 10 yards distant from the English church."

Another evidence of Newark's mechanical ingenuity is given in the announcement, made in 1769 in a New York newspaper, to this effect: "We hear from Newark, that Ezekiel Ball, an ingenious mechanic, has invented a new machine for levelling the roads with great expedition. It is made in the form of a triangle with a small expense, and is drawn by horses; cutting off the ridges and filling up the ruts to admiration, and deserves to be highly recommended to the public. If any gentleman is desirous of knowing in what manner it is made, the model may be seen at his house." It is highly probably from this notice that a very familiar type of road scraper to this day was the product of a Newarker's genius. Ezekiel may be set down as Newark's first inventor of record.

NEW JERSEY'S FIRST TRAMPS.

For several decades previous to the War for Independence large numbers of men, and many women, anxious to get to this side of the world from the British Isles, and not possessing sufficient funds, were in the habit of binding themselves out to several years of service to someone here, the understanding being that after they had "worked out" their time they should be at liberty to go and do as they pleased. Not a few of those who came under these conditions broke faith with their employers, and as a consequence the newspapers of the day were filled with notices of runaways, always closing with the request that if the missing individuals should be identified they be held and their "owners" notified. The runaways usually decamped with as much of the wearing apparel of their master's household as they could carry, and from the minute descriptions given of these goods for the purpose of identification, we may get some amusing glimpses of the apparel of the times. Besides the indentured servants there was always a sprinkling of negro slaves being sought. These notices were often accompanied

with a little woodcut, showing a darkey boy trotting along briskly with a cudgel across his shoulder from which his worldly goods, done up in a handkerchief, depended. A few of the notices are as follows:

1754. "Run away from George Mumford of Fisher's Island * * * four men servants, a white man and three negroes. * * * The white man, named Joseph Heday, says he is a native of Newark in the Jerseys, a short well-set fellow, of a ruddy complexion; his cloathing when he went away, was a red Whitney great coat, red and white flowered serge jacket, a swan skin strip'd ditto, lapell'd, a pair of leather breeches, a pair of trowsers, old shoes, etc."

1758. "Run away on Monday, the second instant, from Benjamin Williams, a negro man named Bristol, about 5 feet, 7 inches high aged about 46 years. Had on when he went away, a red jacket, a brown great coat, brown Camblet breeches and wide trowsers, a pair of new shoes with strings and a new felt hat. Whoever takes up said negro fellow and brings him to his master at Newark * * * shall have forty shillings reward and all reasonable charges." The owner, Williams, by the way, while pretending devotion to the cause of the colonies during the War for Independence, was secretly in sympathy with the British, and as many of his neighbors were of the same kidney, the vicinity became known as "Tory Corners."

1765. "Run away, from David Ogden of Newark in East New Jersey, a servant man named James Van Winkle, aged 26 years, about 5 feet, 10 inches high, well set, something pock-pitted in his face, speaks English and low Dutch. He took with him a blue cloth coat, two red vests, one pair of leather breeches, two pair of yarn stockings, two ozenbrigs shirts, and a gun."

These runaways were something of a pest upon the whole countryside. They were, in fact, the first tramps in the colonies; yes, the first burglars, in all probability, as this notice published in 1763 indicates: "Several robberies have been committed within a few days past at Newark, Elizabeth-Town and Rahway. 'Tis said some persons have been committed on suspicion; and 'tis hoped justice may take place. Meanwhile, this should caution people to be a little more careful, as great numbers of stragglers are about the country."

DEATH PENALTY FOR HORSE STEALING.

Horse racing had become a common pastime in Newark and the neighboring towns, in the 1760's. Money prizes were often given and sometimes the contests were of the sweepstakes variety. Now and then a prize of a beaver hat or a saddle, was awarded. The race course is believed to have been in Broad street, below Market. Horse thieves were abroad, too, and in 1766 two men were condemned to death by the court of oyer and terminer sitting in Newark, for stealing horses.

CHAPTER XII.
THE GATHERING OF THE STORM.

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THE previous chapters of this work fail woefully of their purpose if they have not made it clear to the reader that the War for Independence was in the making so far as New Jersey was concerned, from the time of the first English settlements, nearly eleven decades before Concord and Lexington. Similar forces, varied by local conditions chiefly, were of course at work in the other twelve colonies. The struggles of the settlers with the Governor and his Council for their rights as they saw them; the revolts against the payments of quit-rents to the Lords Proprietors and the popular reluctance to take out patents for the land for which they had already settled with the natives; the long-drawn-out and at times furious remonstrances against the succeeding generations of Lords Proprietors in their efforts to force the people to acknowledge the Lords' title to the land and to establish the principle that the Indian titles were worthless; these and many other minor elements worked, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes successively, to bring about the great struggle for liberty. While the French and Indian wars were still going on, the British ministry, noting with great satisfaction that the colonies were rallying to the flag of Great Britain with remarkable devotion, giving their best blood and expending large sums of money without complaint, evolved a plan, as early as 1754, to unite the colonies for the purpose of establishing a system of taxation. The protest to this was immediate and pronounced, and the measure was withdrawn for the moment, as the ministry decided the times were too critical, with the French and Indian aggressions still continuing to make heavier demands upon the colonies wise or feasible.

TEMPER OF THE COLONISTS MISUNDERSTOOD.

In 1761, the war with the French over and the power of France in America at an end, the ministry began the preparation of a system of taxation of the colonies. Had it stopped with the

imposition of one tax to defray the cost of the war, all would have gone well, but a permanent system of taxation by the mother country was felt to be intolerable. The service of the colonies during the struggle with the French and Indians had been constant, in the highest degree courageous and self-sacrificing. They had maintained throughout the war a force of about 25,000 men, on the average; had lost 30,000 men and had expended £3,500,000 sterling, in support of the cause. Four hundred of their privateers had made war upon French territory and shipping. "Their troops," says Gordon in his History of New Jersey, "preserved the remains of the army wrecked by the folly of Braddock; and under Monckton, captured Beau Sejour, in Nova Scotia. Commanded by William Johnson, they destroyed the army of Baron Dieskau; and subsequently reduced Fort Niagara, one of the most important posts on the Continent. The merit of these actions is ascribable to them solely. In all their marches and battles they were the principal sufferers; and where honor was to be gained, the provincial was distinguished by his fortitude in adversity and his promptitude and courage in the hour of peril."

NEW JERSEY'S DEVOTION TO THE CROWN.

New Jersey's loyalty to the home government was surpassed by hardly any of her sister provinces. In two years alone, she had raised £140,000 for the war. Her troops sent to the front under Schuyler in New York, as well as those on the western borders of her own Province, were unusually well equipped. Her assistance to New York during the war was of the greatest possible value, for New Jersey was then stronger than her sister colony to the East. Immediately after the war New Jersey paid heavy taxes to meet the war expenditures, and by 1776 had reduced her war debt to £190,000. Her average annual expenditures during the war were £40,000.¹

¹ "If England had assumed even her own share of the expenses of war, the question of separation might not have arisen. Instead of that she tried to tax the colonies. In 1771 the question came up flatly whether New Jersey would tax herself to support the regiments of the line here. She refused." R. Wayne Parker in Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, p. 28.

But Lord Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had determined that if the Colonies could contribute so splendidly upon occasions such as the French and Indian wars, just closed, they could be made a constant and fruitful source of revenue. He wished also to establish the supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies. So, late in 1763, a stamp duty upon imports, to be levied by act of Parliament, was proposed, in the face of the fact that the Colonial constitutions were diametrically opposed to "taxation without representation," and representation in Parliament was impossible, largely because of the wide separation of the Colonies and the mother country.

NEW JERSEY'S "SONS OF LIBERTY."

The Stamp Act was passed on March 22, 1765,—and the preliminary struggles of the War for Independence were begun. By this act no document was legal unless written or published on stamped paper. This included all bonds, bills of sale, marriage licenses, property deeds, etc. The stamped paper cost from one cent to fifty dollars. The people of New Jersey, as well as throughout the Colonies, were instantly on their guard. Patriotic organizations, such as the "Sons of Liberty," originating in Connecticut and New York, were organized everywhere. The headquarters of the New Jersey "Sons" was at Woodbridge. Its members pledged themselves "to march to any part of the continent, at their own expense, to support the British constitution and to prevent the enforcement of the Stamp Act." The lawyers of New Jersey solemnly resolved not to do business while the obnoxious act was in operation and all legal proceedings were suspended for several months. Later, at the solicitation of the "Sons of Liberty," the lawyers resumed business but did not use the stamped paper.

William Cox, of Philadelphia, was appointed distributor of stamps for New Jersey. He promptly refused to serve. As there were some doubts as to his having sent in his resignation to the home government, he was waited upon by a committee from the Sons of Liberty sent from Woodbridge, who made it plain that

trouble was in store for him if he did not absolve himself of all connection with the administration of the hated act. His successor, John Hughes, also of Philadelphia, was approached in much the same manner by the New Jersey "Sons" and speedily gave up the office.

JERSEY "SONS" AND THE STAMP ACT.

The temper of the times, in which Essex County and Newark shared, with all the communities, especially the upper half of the Colony, is graphically illustrated by the following:

"At a meeting of the Sons of Liberty of the Township of Freehold, in the County of Monmouth, and Province of East New Jersey, this 2d Day of April, 1776. Animated with Zeal and Love for the Good of our Country, at the same time paying due abeyance to, and having the highest esteem for, the British Parliament, &c. In order to shew out public Disapprobation to the last Act of Parliament, to wit, The Stamp Act; therefore, We, the Sons of Liberty, do unanimously enter into the following Resolves:

"1st. We acknowledge King George the Third, to be our rightful and only Sovereign, and we will, to the utmost of our Power, support, maintain and defend, all his just and legal Rights of Government.

"2d. That we will to the utmost of our Powers, support, maintain and defend, all our Rights and Privileges as English Subjects.

"3dly. That the Act called the Stamp Act, is by us deemed unconstitutional, and destructive to our sacred Rights and Privileges; and that we are resolved to oppose it to the utmost of our Powers, if the glorious cause of Liberty requires it.

"4thly. That we will, with all our Might, join with the several Towns and Counties, in this, and the several neighbouring Provinces, and all others who are the true Sons of Liberty, to uphold and ever maintain that near and dear Friend Liberty, as far as our Might, Influence and Power extends.

"5thly. That a Committee be appointed to correspond with the committees of this and the neighbouring Provinces, to consult on the properest Measures to prevent the said Stamp Act from taking place; and that these, our Resolves, be made public.

"6thly. That we will, from time to time, as much as in our Power lies, keep and maintain his Majesty's Peace and good Order in our respective Stations.

"7thly, and lastly. That we do hereby proclaim ourselves the true Sons of Liberty, and firmly join ourselves in the solemn Union

with the Rest of our Brethren in this and neighbouring Provinces, to hold and maintain our dear Friend Liberty."

Similar resolutions were adopted by the "Sons" of Hunterdon County about a month previous to the adoption of those given above, and concluding:

"At the same time, we conceive it the indubitable Right of British Subjects to be taxed only by their own representatives, and of Trials by Juries: We are therefore of Opinion, that the Stamp Act is an arbitrary and tyrannical Imposition, that robs us of those inherent and darling Privileges, and as such, we are determined, in conjunction with the rest of the free born subjects in America, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, to give effectual Opposition to its intrusion.

"We will likewise endeavour to support all Persons that proceed in business as usual, without paying any Regard to said detestable Act."

Declarations like those quoted above were issued in all sections of the Colonies. The ring of defiance was always in them, and also the touch of deference to the Crown of England. But the warning of coming trouble was there, although only a minority in Parliament could hear it and understand its portent.

THE NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY AND THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS.

On June 16, 1765, three months after the passage of the Stamp Act, a circular letter, which had originated in Massachusetts and which called for the appointment of deputies from the Assemblies of the several Colonies, to attend a congress to be held in New York on the first Tuesday in October of the same year, was submitted to the New Jersey Assembly. It was the last day of the session. The letter called upon the speaker of the Assembly to name three deputies to the Congress. The speaker, Robert Ogden, of Elizabethtown, which was then in Essex County, first favored the selection of deputies as urged in the letter from the Massachusetts Legislature. Then he changed his mind. Some said at the time that Ogden was influenced to reconsider by the Governor of the Province, William Franklin, natural son of Benjamin Frank-

* New Jersey Archives. First Series. Vol. xxv, pp. 71, 72.

lin. At all events Franklin announced that the Assembly had decided "unanimously, after deliberate consideration, against connecting on that occasion."

The attendance in the House at the time was meagre, and the delegates present were chafing and anxious to get away to their homes. The deputies were not chosen. No such sentiment as that given out by Franklin could ever be found on the minutes, and there was a widespread belief that he manufactured it to suit his ends as a loyal governor of the Province.

No sooner did the Assembly delegates return to their constituents, however, than they found themselves in hot water. The demand that New Jersey send representatives to this, the first Congress in America, was loud and insistent, showing that the opposition to the Stamp Act was not the work of a few turbulent characters. Richard Stockton urged speaker Ogden to re-convene the House. A few days later the Assembly was forced by public opinion to gather in special session to select deputies, and Speaker Robert Ogden, of Essex; Hendrick Fisher, of Bound Brook, and Joseph Borden, son of the man for whom Bordentown was named, were chosen. Fisher, it is interesting to know, was of foreign birth, a German from the Rhine Country, in the Lower Palatinate, and a fearless patriot.

Nine colonies were represented at the Congress. New Hampshire and Georgia sent assurances of sympathy in the movement. Virginia and North Carolina were unrepresented, because their Legislatures had not been in session for some time previous and could not therefore appoint deputies.

THE CONSERVATISM OF OGDEN OF ESSEX.

Ogden of Essex, New Jersey, and a deputy from Massachusetts, were the only ones who refused to sign the declaration of rights and petition drawn up by the Congress, because they were to be forwarded to the King. These two contended that the document should be submitted to His Majesty by the Assemblies of the several Provinces. The declaration was sent to the King, however.

and the Stamp Act was repealed, March 18, 1766. Thus the Colonies began to learn that it was sometimes profitable to show spirited and fearless resistance to oppression.

The main principles laid down in the petition to the King were: That the colonists were entitled to all the rights and liberties of subjects born in England. That the colonists should be taxed like other Englishmen, by their own representatives only, and as the colonists could not be represented in England they should not be taxed there but at home. It was contrary to the constitution of England for the colonists to have their property given to the King by any but their own legislatures. That it was the right and privilege of every British subject to have the benefits of trial by jury and of petition.

OGDEN BURNED IN EFFIGY AT ELIZABETHTOWN.

When Robert Ogden returned to Elizabethtown after the Congress he found that instead of being the most popular man in the Province, as formerly, he was now the object of rage akin to hatred. He promptly resigned the speakership of the Assembly. He was burned in effigy at New Brunswick^{*} and other indignities

^{*} The radicals in New Jersey worked themselves into a state bordering upon frenzy over Ogden's stand. The following undoubtedly refers to him and proves most forcibly that there have been periods of popular hysteria before our own time:

"New Brunswick, October 29, 1765.—This morning, on an eminence in this city, was hung the effigy of a wretch, who on a late solemn occasion, subtilly procured himself an employment [delegate to the Stamp Act Congress] and at once shewed the wickedness and dirtiness of his head, and the vileness and rancour of his heart, by basely betraying that important trust. Papers denoting his horrid crime were affixed to his breast, and from his mouth hung labels expressing such words and sentiments as may well be supposed to come from the lips of such an abandoned miscreant in his last moments. The figure is to hang all day, and in the evening will be attended by all true sons of freedom, to a funeral pile erected on the common, where it will be reduced to ashes, amidst the acclamations of the beholders.

"May such be the fate of every vile traitor, in whatever sphere they move! may they live despised! die unpitied! and if they are remembered, let that remembrance only increase the detestation of posterity.

"This signal act of justice (tho' we own the object almost too low for resentment) will, however, we think, evince to the neighboring colonies, that neither the dirty insinuation of pimps and panderers nor the frown of power, have been as yet able to extinguish the spirit of liberty in the province of New Jersey."

See New Jersey Archives, First Series, vol. xxiv.

were heaped upon him. He was grossly misunderstood. His attitude was to an extent typical of that of many of the leading men in Essex County at that time, which no doubt accounts in great measure for the absence of any "Sons of Liberty" group in Newark or elsewhere in Essex County so far as the old records show. Ogden, whatever may have been his personal feelings, felt, as a representative of New Jersey, that as his Province would be affected less than most of the others by the Stamp Act, since it had almost no industries, it should proceed cautiously in those stormy times, and not plunge head-long into a sea of difficulties from which it might emerge disastrously. Apparently he, and many of the men of Essex, felt that the times were not ripe for such high-tempered proceedings as those going on all about them. They were loyal to the King and to England and they were deeply distressed that a faction hostile to the colonies held the reins of government in England.

A few years later, when the crisis really came, Ogden at once became active in the cause of the country, serving on several patriotic committees. His son and his two sons-in-law were officers in New Jersey regiments in the Continental Army, while others of his former colleagues in the Assembly, including Courtlandt Skinner, who had succeeded him as Speaker, headed bands of militant Tories and fought to uphold the King. Ogden was not of that large number of Essex County folk who refused to join their neighbors in open opposition to Great Britain, but rather of the party that declined to respond to popular clamor until it had weighed all the possibilities of a decisive step. Like many of his type in Essex County he was of great value to the cause of his country, once the war began.

THE TEA TAX—GLOOM AT PRINCETON.

The repeal of the Stamp Act brought but a lull in the gathering storm. Parliament accompanied the repeal with a declaration of the right to tax the Colonies. The Townshend act, adopted by Parliament in 1767, imposed duties on tea, glass, paper and painters'

colors imported into the colonies from Great Britain. It was thought in England that the colonists would not object to such a tax since it was to be imposed within the colonies, not from without, at the ports of entry. But it was simply just so much more fuel to the fire. About the same time the colonial governors were directed by the ministry to have the Legislatures prepare and maintain barracks. New Jersey promptly agreed to do this and barracks were provided at Perth Amboy and Elizabethtown, but the colony continued, like all the others, firmly opposed to the tax on tea and other commodities. Parliament was forced to remodel the Townshend act, and in 1770 took off the duty on everything but tea, on which the colonists were to pay a tax of three pence a pound. But the principle remained the same: it was still "taxation without representation." The people were not to be fooled by any such sugar-coated pill. The merchants maintained the non-importation policy inaugurated when the Townshend act was first put in operation, all except a group in New York who in the early summer of 1770, sent orders for all the articles from which the duty had been removed. Their action roused the wrath of the people in all the other colonies. In New Jersey, the students of Princeton, among whom was James Madison, later to become President of the United States, put on their black gowns and gathered on the college green. There they burned the letter telling of the act of the New York merchants, while the church bells were tolled.

NEW JERSEY'S "TEA BONFIRE."

In March of the same year the Boston Massacre had occurred. In December, 1773, came the "Boston Tea Party," while on November 22, 1774, New Jersey had a "tea bonfire." A few days before, a vessel from England laden with tea had entered Cohansey Creek and its cargo had been landed, at Greenwich, in Cumberland County. Forty men, in Indian garb, like their brethren in Boston,

piled up the tea chests in a field and set the torch to them.⁴ It was the first physical act of rebellion in the Province. All efforts to punish the tea burners were foiled.

Inter-colonial Committees of Correspondence, by means of which the several Provinces could keep well informed of the progress of events in each of the others as well as in England, were inaugurated, at the direct instance of Virginia, in 1774, but with Massachusetts Bay as the real inspiration for their being. That Province formed such committees in its territory, in 1772. On February 8, 1774, the Assembly of New Jersey appointed a "standing committee of correspondence" from its members. Among its members was Stephen Crane, of Essex, a resident of what is now Glen Ridge, a descendant of Jasper Crane, one of Newark's founders, and on his mother's side from Robert Treat, the leader of the Newark settlers.

ESSEX COUNTY TAKES THE LEAD.

The first local committee of the sort to be formed in New Jersey, so far as is known, was organized at a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of lower Freehold, Monmouth County, on June 6, 1774.⁵ The first county to make such provisions, as well as to attend to other matters of great moment, was Essex, as will be shown later in this chapter. Unfortunately, records of these early meetings at which the Committees of Correspondence were chosen are hard to find, apparently not being considered at the time of sufficient importance to preserve. Enough is known, however, to show that the protests against the tyrannies of the

⁴ One of the chief substitutes for tea used by the Colonists was a small shrub (*ceanothus Americanus*), belonging to the Buckthorn family and known throughout the colonies as "New Jersey tea." Just why New Jersey was thus honored does not appear, for the plant grows as far north as Canada and down as far as the Gulf of Mexico. If the people of New Jersey were the first to use it in place of tea, the writer has not been able to find any record of the fact.

⁵ Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*. Vol. II, p. 48.

British ministry first took tangible form in East Jersey, and from this section as the focal point steadily permeated to every section of the Province.

The township and county committees of correspondence were unsanctioned by the constituted authorities of the Province. The meetings which created the committees drew their first incentive out of the old town meeting system, which was dominant in the affairs of all East Jersey, and nowhere more deeply rooted than in Newark. They were, of course, subordinate to the Provincial committee. Later Committees of Safety were formed to look after the conduct of the rising revolt in each neighborhood.

England's reply to the "Boston Tea Party" was the enactment of the Boston Port Bill and four other measures, all exceedingly offensive to the colonies. The port bill closed Boston harbor to commerce until the town should pay for its "tea party," reimburse the East India Company for the loss of its tea, and until the town should virtually say it was sorry and promise not to offend in similar manner again. General Gage was ordered to Boston, and closed the port, on June 1, 1774. Thus were the colonists brought to the wall. They felt that a condition little short of servitude faced them. There was nothing left but to submit, or fight. Almost instantly a voice came out of the Colony of Virginia: Colonel Washington stood ready to raise one thousand men to defend the cause of liberty, and to take the field at the head of his regiment.

AN EPOCH-MAKING NEWARK MEETING, JUNE 11, 1774.

We shall now see how Newark and the county of Essex met the situation. Seven days after the Boston Port Bill went into effect the following call to action, issued by the local Committee of Correspondence, was issued:

"All the inhabitants of Essex in New Jersey, friends to the constitution, the liberties and properties of America, are hereby notified and desired to meet at the court house, in Newark, on Saturday, the eleventh of June, instant, at two of the clock in the afternoon, to consult and deliberate and firmly resolve upon

the most prudent and salutary measures to secure and maintain the constitutional rights of his majesty's subjects in America. It is therefore hoped that from the importance of the subject, the meeting will be general.

"Signed by order, at a meeting of a number of the free holders of the county of Essex, the seventh day of June, 1774.

John De Hart,
Aaron Ogden."

The meeting was held, and it struck the keynote of the situation for the whole Province. It called for the selection by the people of the several counties of delegates to a Congress, the first Continental Congress. It was the first county meeting to that end in all New Jersey, and it was held in the court house, opposite the present First Presbyterian Church, the same building where the first sons of Princeton College are believed to have assembled for some of their recitations, and around which the land riots had raged intermittently for half a century. Here, the preamble and resolutions which were to crystallize New Jersey's sentiment of protest against tyranny were adopted on that day:

ESSEX'S CALL TO HER SISTER COUNTIES.

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Essex in the Province of New Jersey at Newark in the said County, on Saturday the 11th day of June, 1774; This meeting taking into serious consideration some alarming measures adopted by the British Parliament for depriving his Majesty's American subjects of their undoubted and constitutional rights and principles, and particularly the Act blockading the port of Boston, which appears to them pregnant with the most dangerous consequences to all his Majesty's Dominions in America, do unanimously resolve and agree:

"1. That, under the enjoyment of our constitutional privileges and immunities, we will ever cheerfully render due obedience to the Crown of Great Britain, as well as full faith and allegiance to his most Gracious Majesty King George the Third and do esteem a firm dependence on the Mother Country essential to our political security and happiness.

"2. That the last Act of Parliament relative to Boston, which so absolutely destroys every idea of safety and confidence, appears to us big with the most dangerous and alarming consequences,

especially as subversive of that very dependence which we should earnestly wish to continue, as our best safeguard and protection; And that we conceive every well-wisher to Great Britain and her Colonies is now loudly called upon to exert his utmost abilities in promoting every legal and prudential measure towards obtaining a repeal of the said Act of Parliament, and all others subversive of the undoubted rights and liberties of his Majesty's American subjects.

"3. That it is our unanimous opinion, that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America, should the Colonies enter a joint agreement not to purchase or use any articles of British Manufacture, and especially any commodities imported from the East Indies, under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by a general Congress of the said Colonies hereafter to be appointed.

"4. That this county will most readily and cheerfully join their brethren of other counties in this Province, on promoting such Congress of Deputies, to be sent from each of the Colonies, in order to form a general plan of union, so that the measures to be pursued for the important ends in view, may be uniform and firm; to which plan, when concluded upon, we do agree faithfully to adhere and do now declare ourselves ready to send a Committee to meet with those from the other counties, at such time and place, as by them may be agreed upon, in order to elect proper persons to represent this Province in the said general Congress.

"5. That the freeholders and inhabitants of the other counties in this Province be requested speedily to convene themselves together, to consider the present distressing state of our public affairs; and to correspond and consult with such other Committees as may be appointed, as also with those of any other Province; and particularly to meet with the said County Committees, in order to nominate and appoint Deputies to represent this Province in General Congress.

"6. We do hereby unanimously request the following gentlemen to accept of that trust, and accordingly do appoint them our Committee for the purpose aforesaid, viz: Stephen Crane, Henry Garritse, Joseph Riggs, William Livingston, William P. Smith, John De Hart, John Chetwood, Isaac Ogden and Elias Boudinot, esquires."

The resolutions were manifestly framed with great care, and one reads between the lines readily enough that their framers were anxious not to offend the home government unduly. The thinking people were still hoping against hope that some way out of the burning difficulties would be found. It is interesting to note that

among the members of the committee named in the sixth section of the resolutions is William Livingston, New Jersey's first governor under the new republic who was a resident of Essex County, and who no doubt came from his home in Elizabethtown to attend the momentous meeting in Newark. It is probable that he had something to do with the actual framing of the above resolutions since he was one of the master minds of the Province at the time.

In response to the appeal to the other counties, just given in full, the remaining twelve (as the Province was then constituted) followed the example of Essex and held similar meetings at which committees were appointed to attend a convention, which was held on Thursday, July 21, 1774, at New Brunswick, and continued in session until the following Saturday. To Essex county fell the honor of having one of its representatives as chairman of this convention, Stephen Crane. Seventy-two attended and selected five delegates to the first Continental Congress, two of these being William Livingston and Stephen Crane.

The Congress met in September of that year, 1774, and, obedient to one of the measures that it adopted, the Essex county committee (comprising the men who had been sent to the convention at New Brunswick), recommended that committees be appointed for each of the three precincts of the county, of not less than fifteen for the first two precincts, Elizabethtown and Newark, and of not less than ten for the third, Acquackanonck. It was to be the business of these committees to hold up to popular indignation and scorn all who should prove unfriendly to the Congress and its works. Such committees were appointed in December, 1774.

NEWARK FORMALLY DECLARES HERSELF.

In May 4, of the following year, at a town meeting held in the First Church, adjoining the court house on Broad street, in Newark, a patriotic meeting was held, and the following record of the proceedings is the best possible description of it:

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of Newark, in New Jersey, on Thursday, the 4th day of May, A. D. 1775, Dr. William Burnet in the chair.

"An Association having been entered into and subscribed by the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of said Town, a motion was made and agreed to, that the same be read. The same was read and is as follows:

"We, the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Township of Newark, having deliberately considered the openly avowed design of the Ministry of Great Britain to raise a revenue in America, being affected with horror at the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay for carrying that arbitrary design into Execution; firmly convinced that the very existence of the rights and liberties of America can, under God, subsist on no other basis than the most animated and perfect union of its inhabitants: and being sensible of the necessity of the present exigency of preserving good order and a due regulation in all public measures; with hearts perfectly abhorrent of slavery, do solemnly under all the sacred ties of religion, honor and love to our country, associate and resolve that we will personally, and as far as our influence can extend, endeavor to support and carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress or agreed upon by the proposed convention of Deputies of this Province, for the purpose of preserving and fixing our constitution on a permanent basis and opposing the execution of the several despotick and oppressive Acts of British Parliament, until the wished for reconciliation between Great Britain and America on constitutional principles can be obtained.

"That a General Committee be chosen by this Town for the purposes aforesaid, and that we will be directed by, and support, them in all things respecting the 'common cause, the preservation of peace, good order, the safety of individuals and private property.'

"Voted, That Isaac Ogden, esquire; Philip Van Cortlandt, Bethuel Pierson and Caleb Camp be the deputies to represent said Township in the Provincial Congress referred to in the said association.

"The General Committee also mentioned in the said association then chosen, consisting of forty-four.

"Agreed, That the powers delegated to the Deputies and General Committees continue until the expiration of five weeks after the rising of the next Provincial Congress and no longer.

"Agreed, That the General Committee have power to appoint one or more sub-committees, to act on any emergency.

"Isaac Longworth,

"Town Clerk.

"The General Committee immediately convened and elected Lewis Ogden, esquire; Dr. William Burnet, Elisha Boudinot, esquire; Isaac Ogden, esquire, and Mr. Isaac Longworth, to be a Committee of Correspondence for said Town.

"Elisha Boudinot,*

"Clerk to Committee."

A FEARLESS GRAND JURY.

Essex county was now one of the chief centres of political activity in the whole Province. A few days before the above resolutions were adopted an added impetus had been given the rapidly rising sentiment of defiance. Chief Justice Frederick Smyth, in his charge to the grand jury of Essex in the old court house, in Newark, had cautioned the jurors to guard against tyranny within their own borders and not brood over "imaginary tyranny" three thousand miles distant. Members of this jury were also connected with the Committee of Correspondence and they gave a fearless reply to the effect that those who imposed taxation without representation and who refused trial by jury were flesh and blood tyrants. Nor was there anything imaginary about the British land and sea forces then gathered about Boston.⁷

* The call for the first meeting in Essex County at which the circular letter to the other counties was drafted, the resolutions drawn at that meeting and the document just reproduced, are taken from the minutes of the first Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of New Jersey, as given in Dr. Stephen Wickes' History of the Oranges.

⁷ Lee's New Jersey as a Colony and as a State. Vol. II, pp. 50-51.



APEX AND ENTABLATURE, ESSEX COUNTY COURT HOUSE



THE LANDING OF CARTERET
From mural decoration in Essex County Court House



FOREMAN OF THE GRAND JURY REBUKING CHIEF JUSTICE
From mural decoration in Essex County Court House

These later proceedings prepared the people of Essex county for the organization of the first Provincial Congress. The tone of independence is much more marked than in the first circular addressed from Newark to the other counties calling for the first convention, which was held at New Brunswick, as already described. The people now began to see that they were about to engage in a momentous struggle for their rights. Governor William Franklin was first asked to call the Assembly in special session to select delegates to the first Continental Congress, but he had refused. So the people of Essex had taken the initiative. In opening the last session of the Provincial Assembly but one, in January, 1775, the Governor urged the delegates to maintain their loyalty to the home government, and to refrain from further co-operation with those of the other colonies who he held to be inciting sedition, concluded his address as follows:

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN'S WARNING IGNORED.

"You have now pointed out to you, gentlemen, two roads—one evidently leading to peace, happiness and a restoration of the public tranquility—the other inevitably conducting you to anarchy and misery, and all the horrors of a civil war. Your wisdom, your prudence, your regard for the true interests of the people will be best known when you have shown to which road you give the preference. If to the former, you will probably afford satisfaction to the moderate, the sober and the discreet part of your constituents. If to the latter, you will perhaps give pleasure to the warm, the rash and inconsiderate among them, who, I would willingly hope, violent, as is the temper of the present times, are not even now the majority. But, it may be well for you to remember, should any calamity hereafter befall them from your compliance with their inclinations, instead of pursuing, as you ought, the dictates of your own judgment, that the consequences of their returning to a proper sense of their conduct, may prove deservedly fatal to yourselves."

Governor Franklin's solemn warning had no effect. The Assembly unanimously approved the proceedings of the first Continental Congress held the previous September and re-elected the delegates to Congress chosen at the New Brunswick convention. A petition to the king, reciting the grievances of the Province of New Jersey was drawn up and sent, as suggested by Franklin in his address. The ministry in response offered full and complete pardon to any province if its Assembly would provide for the maintenance of civil government and the administration of justice within its borders, and promised that if this were done the home government would not tax that province. The New Jersey delegates to Assembly, in common with those of the other provinces, readily understood that this was simply a clever scheme to wreck the growing solidarity of the union of the colonies, and answered that they could do nothing at that time, since the Continental Congress had the matter of civil government under consideration.

THE FIRST CALL FOR MILITIA, AUGUST, 1775.

On May 2, 1775, the New Jersey Committee of Correspondence, in session at New Brunswick, selected the twenty-third day of the same month for the second Provincial convention, to be held in Trenton. This body organized as the "Provincial Congress" and assumed the powers of government in New Jersey, ignoring the Governor, and taking preliminary steps to defend the colony from invasion. A session was held in August of the same year, when it was decided to organize fifty-four companies of minute men, of sixty-four men each, in the colony. Another session was held late in January, 1776, to consider several communications from the Continental Congress and to make further plans for the defence of the Province. Governor Franklin called the Legislature together on November 16, 1775, but no business of importance was transacted. On December 6, the Assembly was prorogued by Franklin to meet on January 3, 1776. But it never re-assembled; and thus ended the Provincial Assembly of New Jersey.

THE ARREST OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN.

On May 30, 1776, Franklin directed that the Legislature convene, in the name of the king, on June 20. Immediately the Provincial Congress, by a vote of thirty-eight to eleven, voted that the proclamation of the "late Governor ought not to be obeyed"; and a few days later decided that his proclamation had placed Franklin "in direct contempt, and violation, of the resolve of the Continental Congress," that he had "discovered himself to be an enemy to the liberties of the country; and that measures should be immediately taken to secure his person."^a

He was arrested on June 17, 1776, at Perth Amboy, and a guard of sixty militiamen was maintained around his house near that town (as he refused to sign a parole) until removed to Burlington, by order of Congress four or five days later. He was there examined by the Provincial Congress, at the instance of Congress in Philadelphia, to determine whether he should be kept in confinement. Franklin refused to answer any and all questions, claiming that the Convention had usurped the king's government in the province. At the close of the month he was sent to Connecticut, under guard, to Governor Trumbull. There he soon became active in furthering the cause of the home government, helping the king's commissioners to induce the people to sign allegiance papers to the Crown and by so doing receive pardons. For this he was put in close confinement and not allowed the use of pen, ink or paper.

THE LAST OF THE ROYAL GOVERNORS.

In 1777 Franklin sought his parole from New Jersey, and Washington forwarded his application, intimating that he was inclined to favor it being granted, largely because of Mrs. Franklin's poor health. The Provincial Congress refused to grant the parole, being satisfied from certain of Franklin's letters, which had been intercepted, that he would continue a dangerous enemy to the

^a Gordon's History of New Jersey, p. 191.

cause of liberty. Mrs. Franklin died early in 1778 in New York City, and in March of that year Franklin was exchanged after being imprisoned for two years and four months. He lived in New York for four years and was one of the leading spirits among the loyalists there. He removed to England in August, 1782, no doubt convinced that the cause which he had so persistently upheld was lost. The British government gave him £1,800 to compensate him for the losses he had sustained and granted him a pension of £800 a year for the rest of his life. He died in 1813, at the age of eighty-eight.

Thus passed the last of the royal governors of New Jersey, who in steady succession had directed the affairs of the Province for three-quarters of a century, from the time the original rulers, the Lords Proprietors, were forced to relinquish it. Franklin was born in Philadelphia and in his youth was closely associated with his illustrious father in the latter's scientific experiments. The youth saw active service during the French and Indian war, and later was sent to England. He was given an honorary degree, that of master of arts, by Oxford University. He was appointed Governor of the Province of New Jersey, in 1762, through the influence of Lord Bute, and it is said on excellent authority that Benjamin Franklin, his father, had nothing whatever to do with this preferment being shown his son.

Governor Franklin was a man of broad culture, and deeply interested in promoting the welfare of his Province. He encouraged the cultivation of hemp, flax and the introduction of mulberry trees in order to foster the silk industry. "And had not this simple branch of industry been prostrated by the war, silk would soon have become a staple commodity of the country." * At the close of a conference with the northern Indians, the Six Nations, acknowledged New Jersey's fairness in adjusting boundaries, by conferring upon Franklin the title of "Sagorighwiogstha," Grand Arbiter or doer of Justice. Franklin had laid his plans to have a census

* Gordon's History of New Jersey, p. 152.

of the Province taken, as well as a statistical account of it, when the chaos immediately preceding the war put a stop to everything of the sort. It is also said of him that he had the largest and best library in all New Jersey.

The last of New Jersey's royal governors was plainly a man of parts, and endowed with much of his father's resourcefulness. Had he been permitted a decade or so of administration, untroubled by forces from without, he would have accomplished vast good for the Province, beyond the shadow of a doubt. There are few pages in New Jersey's history more interesting than those which cover the activities of the last of the Crown's representatives. Franklin was, above everything else, loyal to the party that had given him preferment. Although born in Pennsylvania, and intimate with his remarkable father through several of the formative years of his youth, he was diametrically opposed to him when the great questions that resulted in the Declaration of Independence were concerned. Strange to say, in this instance, the father was the radical and the son the conservative. Upon his returning from England, in 1775, Benjamin Franklin visited his son, at Perth Amboy, at his estate at Rancocus. It is on record that the father then labored to convince the son that he was on the wrong side, and it is said that the debates between them were animated. From that time on they were estranged. "Nothing," wrote Benjamin Franklin in a letter, in 1784, "has ever hurt me so much and affected me with keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son, and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune and life were all at stake."

It is a most interesting fact that both the Provincial Convention and the Provincial Assembly under Franklin continued to do business for more than a year, and with no seriously conflicting action. More than half of the members of the Convention of 1775, were members of the Provincial Assembly of that year. The trend of the times, however, is significantly shown from the fact that in the next Assembly, that of 1776, and the last under

the Colonial form of government, but seven of its members were delegates to the Provincial Convention. "Still," says Whitehead, in his History of Perth Amboy, "I have failed to discover any documents that indicate a probability that the Governor could have moulded that body to any sinister views that it might have entertained."

THE STATE'S FIRST CONSTITUTION.

The Provincial Congress, of 1775, (as well as the Assembly) was faithful in its expressions of loyalty to the authority of the Crown. When 1776 opened, the Congress had, however, practically obtained control of the affairs of the Province, and upon assembling at Burlington, early in June, preparations were made to draft a new constitution. On July 2, 1776, two days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, this constitution was adopted. New Jersey was not, even at this late juncture, fully satisfied to cut herself loose altogether from the mother country. The last article in the constitution, therefore, provided that the new constitution should become void if the king should adjust the grievances of the Province and agree to conduct its affairs in accordance with the British constitution and in keeping with the rights of all British subjects. On July 3, 1776, the Provincial Congress gave up the word "provincial" altogether and forever, and took the title of "The Convention of the State of New Jersey," declaring the State to be independent of royal authority.¹⁰

NEW JERSEY'S "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE."

In response to the Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey passed the following resolution: "Whereas, the honourable Continental Congress have declared the United Colonies free and independent States, We, the deputies of New Jersey, in Provincial Congress assembled, do resolve and declare, That we will support the freedom and independence of said States, with our lives and fortunes, and with the whole force of New Jersey."

¹⁰ Elmer's Reminiscences, pp. 30-31.

CHAPTER XIII.

**THE NEW JERSEY CONTINENTAL LINE—MINUTE-MEN—
THE MILITIA ORGANIZATION—STATE TROOPS.**

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW JERSEY CONTINENTAL LINE—MINUTE-MEN—THE MILITIA ORGANIZATION—STATE TROOPS.

NEWARK did not bring itself to espouse the cause of liberty without a long and bitter struggle. The town was divided against itself. When Colonel Josiah Ogden walked out into his hayfield near what are now Park place and Centre street, that epoch-making Sunday over forty years before the War for Independence, the separation of the community into two irreconcilable factions was virtually accomplished. As the sentiment of protest against the oppressions of the British ministry arose soon after the close of the French and Indian wars, it gradually crystallized, so far as Newark was concerned, around the First Presbyterian Church. Its sturdy pastor, the Rev. Alexander Macwhorter, one of the early students of Princeton when it was located in Newark, was a stout defender of the rights of the people. It is lamentable indeed that the church and town records of the period embracing the years immediately preceding the war were destroyed by the British soldiers during one or another of their forays after the war was well in progress, or at the time of Cornwallis's stay late in 1776.

THE FIGHTING PARSONS.

Dr. Macwhorter was one of the "fighting parsons" of New Jersey and his sermons and other public utterances must have breathed the very spirit of defiance to injustice on the part of the country's rulers. His name only occasionally appears in the existing annals of the time, but, knowing the temper of the hour, and remembering that in those days the pulpit was little short of dominant over the minds of the congregation when an alert, fearless and high-minded pastor pronounced from it, without fear or favor, the law of God and man as he felt it, we grow into a conviction that Dominie Macwhorter was a mighty force in stiffening

the militant patriots of all the region to meet the emergency with but one thought—the uplifting of mankind through the preservation of the sacred and deathless cause of freedom. We shall learn a little later the stuff of which brave Dominie Macwhorter was made. “Black coats” (the cloth) were more dreaded by the British in those days than were the red coats by the patriots. Macwhorter was for a time chaplain of General Knox’s division.

The Rev. Jedidiah Chapman, pastor of the “Mountain Society,” now the First Presbyterian Church of Orange, was likewise a stalwart patriot, who, when the war began, left his pulpit and joined many of his congregation in the field as army chaplain. Then there was Parson Caldwell of Elizabethtown, chaplain of Dayton’s Essex battalion, whose wife was killed by a British soldier at Springfield and who was himself murdered near the close of the war by a British or Tory soldier at Elizabethtown. Nearly all the residents of Essex who were of Calvinistic training espoused the cause of the people against the Crown. Most of those who attended the Episcopal church held stubbornly to the ancient and established government of England. This was quite true throughout the Province, as well as here in Newark.

NEWARK AT WAR WITH ITSELF.

The First Church stands as a monument to one faction and Trinity for the other. Around Trinity were grouped many of the most substantial and prosperous citizens, men of affairs of most estimable character. They had resented the tyrannies of the short-sighted British ministry in common with their fellow townsmen. But to them rebellion was unjustifiable treason. Loyalty to the king was part of their religion.

The First Church group drew to itself large numbers of farmers, small merchants, indentured servants, redemptioners, as well as a large proportion of the brightest and most aggressive young men, who not infrequently departed from the traditions and teachings of their own families to give their services to the cause of liberty.

Between the two groups were, at the opening of the war, a third that did not identify itself openly with either side, many of whose members, however, declared their allegiance to the Crown in the trying period late in 1776 and in 1777. There were time servers on both sides, and not a few who changed their colors. Many a man who helped frame the early declarations against tyranny or noisily endorsed them before the conflict had been brought into New Jersey, disappeared from the counsels of the patriots when the days of real trial came. Human nature was then precisely what it is to-day and we shall find this fact more and more graphically illustrated as we proceed. There is no use in attempting to conceal the fact, that nearly half of the people of Essex County, when the real trial of their mettle came, either openly avowed their devotion to England or remained inactive. Selfish personal interest played the same monotonous but ever-potent part in influencing the actions of men at that time as now. For the Newarkers who bravely, and from principle, and honorably maintained their allegiance to the Crown, we of to-day can entertain no feelings but respect for their devotion to what they believed to be right, and sympathy for them in the misery and destitution which came to many.

To those intrepid men of Newark who roused themselves and their neighbors to fight for their homes and who, once they took up the work, never abandoned it, the most profound gratitude of the Newark of to-day is due. Theirs was the same gallant spirit that inspired the founders of Newark—and, indeed, a large majority of the Newark patriots of 1776 were descended from that stern company that came out of Connecticut in 1666. Theirs was by far the braver and clearer vision; they saw into the future as their Tory neighbors could not see.

WASHINGTON IN NEWARK, JUNE 25, 1775.

On Sunday, June 25, 1775, Washington passed through Newark on his way to assume command of the Continental Army at Cambridge. Ordinarily travelers from the south on the way

to New York took ferry at Elizabethtown, but in this instance that route was not feasible, as will appear from the following letter written by General Philip Schuyler to the New York Provincial Congress when Washington, Schuyler and others reached New Brunswick on Saturday, June 24:

"General Washington with his retinue is now here, and proposes to be at Newark by nine to-morrow morning. The situation of the men of war [British] at New York (we are informed) is such as to make it necessary that some precaution should be taken in crossing Hudson's river, and he would take it as a favor if some gentlemen of your body would meet him to-morrow at Newark, as the advice you may then give him will determine whether he will continue his proposed route or not."

Washington and his party remained a few hours in Newark in conference with a committee sent from the New York Congress. Where did they stop while here? This will probably never be known with absolute certainty. The Eagle Tavern stood at the north corner of what are now Broad and William streets and it offered about the best accommodations. Across the lane (William street) stood the parsonage of the First Church, where resided the patriot pastor, Dr. Alexander Macwhorter. As the pastor was, later in the war, on terms of considerable intimacy with Washington, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that Washington and his company rested at the tavern near the parsonage and there met the delegation from New York. Did he attend church? Probably not, for the day was for him a crowded one, and as he was a member of the Church of England he would not have felt altogether at his ease in Trinity, since the great majority of that congregation were hostile to the cause for which he had drawn his sword. The theory that Washington on this visit conferred with Pastor Macwhorter is based chiefly on the fact that Washington, as he passed through the country, was "feeling the pulse" of the people, gathering impressions as best he could of the popular attitude toward the cause of independence, and Dr. Macwhorter was well able to inform him as to conditions hereabouts.

In order to avoid any possibility of coming in contact with the British soldiery or the forces from the British ships anchored in the upper New York bay (whose presence had made the ferry trip from Elizabethtown too hazardous and diverted the little expedition to the Newark route) it was decided to cross the Hudson river at what is now Hoboken, and about a mile above the then city of New York. The trip from Newark was probably made over the present Plank Road since the only other road to the Hackensack ferry ran from the Schuyler copper mines in what is now Arlington. Washington had left his coach in Philadelphia, and was proceeding to the field of action on his horse, in true soldierly fashion. Leaving Newark that June Sunday afternoon, he in all probability proceeded up Broad street, traveled down Market street, to the ferry from which Ferry street gets its name, across the meadows and over the Hackensack by Dow's ferry.

The cause of liberty was young. A year and more was to elapse before the thirteen colonies were to formally declare to the world that they were henceforth to be united in common cause against a powerful, but blind and irascible parent-country. A year and five months thereafter, almost to a day, Washington was to tread that same Broad street, beaten many times over, baffled at almost every turn and with the "cause" for which he was now going forth to give the best that was in him, all but lost. He was then about 45 years old.

ESSEX COUNTY'S POPULATION IN 1775.

In 1775 there were in Newark, that is, in the town proper, not more than one thousand souls, and in all the county (which then included Newark, Elizabethtown, Acquackanonck, and the scattering groups of homes and farms now known as Rahway, Plainfield, Bloomfield, Nutley, Montclair, Caldwell, the Oranges, Irvington, Lyons Farms, Connecticut Farms, Springfield and Chatham) perhaps 8,000 persons.

MAKING READY FOR WAR.

Newark's Committee of Correspondence was active from the very day of its organization. Early in 1775 it united with the committee of Elizabethtown in inaugurating a boycott against New York's leading newspaper, known as Rivington's Gazette, denouncing Rivington, the publisher, "a printer of one of the New York gazettes" and "a vile Ministerial hireling." A plan for gathering together ammunition, inaugurated at Hanover, Morris County, was adopted by the Essex County committees, and William Camp of Newark was delegated as the proper person to receive saltpetre and sulphur and which was to be forwarded to the new powder mills erected at Morristown on the banks of the Whippany river and conducted by the Ford family, that built and occupied the house, later turned over to Washington, and now known as Washington's headquarters.

On March 15, 1776, the Newark committee adopted a schedule of prices for goods shipped into the town from the West Indies identical with that fixed by the New York committee, and including West India rum, Jamaica spirits, country rum, molasses, coffee, chocolate, loaf, Muscovado and lump sugar, salt and pepper. If any merchant deviated from the rates as set down he was to be denounced as traitorous to the cause of liberty. More than one Essex County merchant had to be disciplined later on. Two months later the Newark committee advised the people of the township to neither kill nor eat lamb or sheep until the following August. The purpose of this recommendation seems to have been a desire to foster the wool industry which was then being set up in Somerset County, in an effort to encourage home industry.¹

¹ Lee's New Jersey as a Colony and as a State, vol. II, pp. 59-60.

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT, NEW JERSEY LINE.

The first move to place the Province upon an actual war footing was taken in October, 1775, when the Provincial Congress, in response to a call from the Continental Congress, set about raising two battalions, of eight companies each, with eleven officers

(including subalterns), and sixty-eight privates, for one year, "at the expense of the Continent." Hats, shoes and yarn stockings were to be furnished in place of bounty, by the "Continent," and the men were to provide their own arms. The Province was to pay each officer two and two-third dollars a week for subsistence and privates one dollar a week, while in quarters, and one and one-third dollars while proceeding to join the army. The recruits were to be enrolled by muster masters. One battalion was known as the Western and the other as the Eastern, the latter being recruited largely in Essex County. In January, 1776, a third battalion was called for, to serve for one year. These three battalions represented what was called the "First Establishment" of the New Jersey Line.

Part of this establishment saw service in the Province of New York, rounding up Tories and doing garrison duty, and another part did similar work on Long Island, while still other companies lay practically inactive at Elizabethtown and Perth Amboy. A fourth group of companies, including some new to the field and others that had seen service as described above, was sent north with the valorous but unfortunate expedition to Canada.

SECOND ESTABLISHMENT, "FOR THE WAR."

In September, 1776, the enlistment of the Second Establishment of New Jersey Continental troops was begun. It comprised four battalions, to be armed and equipped by the recently created State. These men were to serve for the war, unless previously discharged by Congress, and bore much the same relation to the First Establishment as the "three years, or the war" enlistment for the Civil War bore to the first call for seventy-five thousand men for three months. The struggle was on in grim earnest when the Second Establishment was summoned, as was the case when Lincoln called the three-year men to the colors.

The war, which when the First Establishment was summoned was something that was to be, had now become a terrible reality. Part of the wounded in the disastrous battle of Long Island had

been brought over to New Jersey and taken to Hackensack and Newark, those left at Hackensack being presently removed to Newark.* Recruits came slowly. A bounty of \$20 was assured to every non-commissioned officer and private, and also grants of land in proportion to rank were promised. As for the bounty, New Jersey gave, in place of money, "two linen hunting shirts, two pair of overalls, a leathern or woollen waistcoat with sleeves, one pair of breeches, a hat or leathern cap, two shirts, two pair of hose, and two pair of shoes."

ESSEX COUNTY CONTINENTALS.

Several of the companies of the First Establishment were at Fort Ticonderoga late in October, 1776, and these men were given the preference in the organization of the Second Establishment, many of them re-enlisting. In February, 1777, the Second Establishment was fully organized. One battalion was recruited in Essex County with Elias Dayton as its colonel. He was afterwards made a brigadier general and was succeeded as colonel by Edward Thomas. The lieutenant colonels were: Jeremiah Smith, Samuel Pattee and Moses Jacques, the two latter becoming colonels, subsequently. Oliver Spencer and Jacob Crane were first majors and lieutenant colonels in succession. Ezekial Woodruff, jr., was second and later first major. Nehemiah Wade was second major, and William Winants surgeon. While this was the only command in the New Jersey Continental Line definitely known as from Essex

* "After Long Island was evacuated, it was judged impossible to hold the city of New York, and for several days the artillery and stores of every kind had been removed, and last night the sick were ordered to Newark, in the Jerseys; but most of them could be got no further than this place [Paulus Hook, now Jersey City] and Hoebuck [Hoboken], and as there is but one house at each of these places, many were obliged to lie in the open air till this morning, whose distress when I walked out at daybreak, gave me a livelier idea of the horror of war than anything I have met before—the commandant ordered them everything for their comfort that the place afforded, and immediately forwarded them to the place appointed [Newark] and prepared for them." Letter written at Paulus Hook, Sept. 15, 1776, and published in the Pennsylvania Evening Post. See New Jersey Archives, Newspaper Extracts, Second Series, vol. i, pp. 224-225.

County, the men from Newark and its neighborhood were scattered through nearly every battalion in the first and subsequent establishments.

MAXWELL'S BRIGADE—THE THIRD ESTABLISHMENT.

The four battalions of the Second Establishment were placed under the command of Brigadier General William Maxwell, formerly colonel of the second battalion of the First Establishment, and a resident of Sussex County. It was known throughout the remainder of the war as "Maxwell's Brigade" of the Continental Army. In 1779 an effort was made to raise a Third Establishment. It never took the field as such, the men recruited under this call being used to strengthen the various battalions of Maxwell's Brigade, which, early in 1780, was rearranged in three regiments, serving as such until the end of the war. In June, 1781, the Legislature offered a bounty of twelve pounds in gold or silver to every man who would enlist to serve until the close of the war.

Maxwell's Brigade participated in every important action in New Jersey after its establishment. A portion of it opened the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and continued in the fight throughout the day. The brigade saw service in Delaware as well as in Pennsylvania. It gave an excellent account of itself at the Battle of Germantown on October 4, 1777. It was at Valley Forge during the greater part of the winter of 1777-78. At the battle of Monmouth on June 27-28, 1778, it was active and efficient, and after the fight was found to be sadly destitute of clothing. In the spring and summer of 1779 it took part in General Sullivan's expedition against the Seneca Indians, up the Susquehanna, to discipline the savages for the Wyoming Massacre. It was in the battle of Springfield, on June 23, 1780, and acquitted itself with honor.

Reorganized and strengthened with the recruits under the so-called Third Establishment, what was virtually Maxwell's Brigade made over, accompanied the Continental Army on its long march to the south and was a part of it during the siege and

subsequent capture of Yorktown. These three regiments, more or less constantly reinforced by levies from the militia, together with many individual enlistments of Jerseymen in the commands of other states, constituted New Jersey's contribution to the heroic Continental Army, whose sacrifices, hardships and consecration to the cause of liberty no pen has ever adequately described.

THE MILITIA ORGANIZATION.

New Jersey's militia organization was somewhat complex and it was made to play its part in meeting the exigencies of the time only by the exercise of constant energy and resourcefulness on the part of the muster masters and a few other tried and devoted persons in the various counties. The obstacles that prevented the maintenance of the State's full quota of militia upon a proper footing were tremendous. In the earlier years of the war the New Jersey militia did not acquit itself with all the credit that one would like to accord to it. The commonwealth had continued too long in a semi-chaotic state for the average individual to hold the central government in full and proper respect. The State and its constitution were both too new to inspire the spirit of loyalty and devotion which the representatives of the Crown had lost during several generations of maladministration. In a word, the militia was not always to be depended upon.

Washington discovered that fact in the trying days at the close of 1776 and his disappointment at the lack of support which his tattered legions received from New Jersey's citizen soldiery was keen. It is enough to say at this point in the narrative that the New Jersey militia retrieved its good name in the latter years of the war, and on one occasion at least received the highest commendation for gallantry in the field, from Washington himself.

ANCIENT AVERSION TO A STANDING ARMY.

There had been militia in New Jersey almost from the settlement by the English, and through the passing of generations there had grown a deep-rooted aversion to the establishment of anything

akin to regular troops. In the French and Indian war the Provincials furnished their citizen soldiery for hard service, in one-year levies. The experience of these men in the field, where they had a good opportunity to judge of the efficiency of the regular British forces, did not tend to increase the Provincial's respect for a standing army. The disaster to Braddock's troops in this war was, of course, a never-to-be-forgotten influence working to the disparagement of the regulars in the minds of the people throughout all the American Colonies. Despite the terrible experiences during the War for Independence when the patriot cause was more than once all but lost because of the lack of trained troops and through the fickleness of the militia, the popular antipathy to a standing army continued very pronounced in fact, it still exists.

THE ESSEX COUNTY MILITIA.

The first organization of militia for the War for Independence was already under way in Newark when Washington passed through on his way to Cambridge, in June, 1775. Essex County's allotment was two regiments, their members to be between the ages of sixteen and fifty,^{*} with eighty men in each company, the members to choose their own commissioned officers and these to appoint the non-commissioned officers. The officers were to choose the regimental officers. Companies already in existence were to conform to the new regulations. The officers received their commissions from either the Provincial Congress or the Committee of Safety. Penalties and fines were exacted for absence from muster or refusal to bear arms. Elias Dayton and Philip Van Cortland were the colonels of the two Newark regiments in 1775.

^{*} The age limit was by no means rigidly adhered to, as will appear from the following, which appeared in the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, July 29, 1776: "An old Gentleman between 60 and 70 now does duty in the Militia near Newark, in New Jersey, is the father of about 15 Children now alive, 9 of which are in the Continental Army, from Captains to Privates."

THE MINUTE-MEN.

Previous to the organization just described, companies of Minute-Men had been organized in Morris, Sussex and Somerset Counties. Similar companies were later formed in all the other counties, Essex providing six. The Minute-Men had precedence in rank over the militia whose formation has just been described. The Minute-Men were to be "held in constant readiness, on the shortest notice, to march to any place where assistance might be required, for the defence of this or any neighboring colony." They were to continue in service for four months. In February, 1776, the Minute-Man organization was given up, and the companies merged with the militia. The chief reason for this seems to have been the great depletion of the ranks which were heavily drawn upon by the militia and for the line companies.

Militiamen were required to furnish themselves with "a good musket or firelock, and bayonet, sword or tomahawk, a steel ramrod, worm, priming wire and brush fitted thereto, a cartouch box to contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, twelve flints and a knapsack." A hunting frock was the distinguishing feature of the uniform, such as were worn by the riflemen in the Continental line regiments.

ESSEX MILITIA'S FIRST SERVICE.

The Essex militia first saw active service in February, 1776, when three hundred of them, together with as many from Middlesex and one hundred from Somerset, were sent to Long Island, in response to an appeal from the New York Committee of Safety, to assist in arresting Tories in Queens County. In July, 1776, three companies of Essex militia were sent to join a detachment of two thousand of their fellows gathered throughout the Province. This force took the place of as many of Washington's men who had been ordered into New Jersey to form a "Flying Camp,"⁴ whom Washington now sorely needed in his operations on Long Island.

⁴ The Flying Camp was composed chiefly of New Jersey, Maryland and Pennsylvania troops, of the Continental line. The Camp's chief headquarters were at Perth Amboy. General Hugh Mercer was in command.

THE FLYING CAMP—MONTHLY CLASSES.

The Flying Camp was a sort of outpost established in this State by the Commander-in-Chief, and intended to be moved in any direction that emergency might require as the nature of General Howe's movements should develop. A month later, in August, 1776, one of the two divisions of the New Jersey militia was ordered to join the Flying Camp with all possible haste, and for one month's service. The second class or division was ordered to hold itself in readiness to relieve the first now going into the field.

From that time to the end of the war the militia was maintained on this basis of monthly classes. By this arrangement the men were given alternate months at home, and as a large majority of them were farmers, the plan permitted them to sustain, to an extent, the crops of the State. This was highly essential in New Jersey, for it existed largely through its farms; there being very few other industries at that time.

INCREASING DIFFICULTY OF MILITIA MAINTENANCE.

Each year brought some new law or laws for strengthening the militia, and they show plainly enough that it became more and more difficult to maintain it at anything like adequate numbers. The various townships and counties were gone through repeatedly by the muster masters, as it were with a fine-toothed comb. Few able-bodied men could escape, without incurring the odium of their more patriotic neighbors. At first, in 1775, men were "requested" to enlist in the militia; a little later they were "directed" to join.

In 1778 the militia was brigaded, those of the following counties being in one brigade: Essex, Bergen, Morris, Sussex, Middlesex and Somerset. The other counties of the State furnished the Second Brigade. In 1780 bounties ranging from \$500 (Continental money) for a colonel, to \$60 for a private were given for one month's field service. In 1781, a three-brigade organization was made, Essex, Bergen, Morris and Sussex, comprising the First Brigade. In 1781 part of the militia was called out for three months' service, co-operating with the Continental Army. These men were exempted from service for the succeeding nine months.

THE "STATE TROOPS."

Several times during the war a certain proportion of the militia was mobilized to meet emergencies, New Jersey being the battleground during nearly one-third of the whole struggle. The men so apportioned were liable for duty not only in New Jersey but in adjacent States. These detachments were called "State Troops," "New Jersey Levies" or "Five Months' Levies." Under this system two companies of artillery were formed, one for each end of the State. The "Eastern Company" had Frederick Frelinghuysen^{*} for its captain. Late in 1776 and early in 1777, Essex, Morris and Bergen counties raised a battalion of "State Troops."

In 1779, under regimental formation, totaling four thousand men, four regiments of State Troops were formed, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth being called on to supply one. Two or three other "embodiments" of State Troops were made before the war was over, and on the last call, in December, 1781, Essex raised four companies, comprising two hundred and twenty men, their captains being: John Scudder, Jonas Ward, Robert Niel^{*} and John Craig. Near the end of the war recruiting officers received \$50 a day (Continental money). When the State Troops were ordered out, the officers of the militia companies were expected to assemble and select those of their commands who were to serve. Those so drawn were either required to take the field or send a substitute at their own expense.

Several troops of light horse were organized from time to time, at the order of the Governor. Many Essex men enlisted in commands outside the State for longer or shorter periods.

^{*} Great grandfather of Frederick Frelinghuysen, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company (1913). It is a tradition that Captain Frelinghuysen fired from his pistol the shot that mortally wounded Colonel Rahl at Trenton, Christmas Eve, 1776.

^{*} Niel was one of Newark's merchants. In September, 1776, he inserted the following advertisement in a New York newspaper: "Rum to be sold as cheap as the Times will permit, by Robert Niel, at his store in Newark, by the hogshead or barrell. N. B. Some excellent brandy to be sold at the same place; also loaf sugars."

HOW MEN PREPARED FOR THE CALL TO ARMS.

When called to arms it was the custom of the men to don their uniforms, take their accoutrements and proceed at once to the home of their respective captains, from whence they marched to the point of battalion or regimental mobilization. The citizen soldiery could thus be gathered in surprisingly short time. The training of the previous three quarters of a century, during the land riots, described in a previous chapter, had served to develop a system of signals by gunfire in the daytime and beacons at night.

THE MILITIA'S BATTLE-RECORD.

The New Jersey militia participated in these engagements: Quinton's Bridge, Three Rivers, Connecticut Farms, Van Neste's Mills, Battle of Long Island, Trenton, Assanpink, Princeton, Germantown, Springfield and Monmouth. At the first militia organization, William Livingston was made a brigade commander, but soon resigned to become the first Governor of the State of New Jersey, in which post he was of inestimable value.⁷

JEMIMA CUNDICT'S DIARY.

At every turn in this stage of the history of Newark and of Essex County one feels keenly the almost total absence of the personal note. It is hard to get close to the actual feelings and sentiments of the individual in the records preserved to us. The "tumult and the shouting" died so very, very long ago that it is not easy for us to realize just what they felt and hoped and feared in those epoch-making times. Fortunately, however, there has been preserved to us in the diary of a girl of the "Newark Mountain" (Orange), a few fragments which help us to a somewhat better understanding of the state of mind of the patriots.

⁷ For further information as to the military organization of New Jersey in the War for Independence, see Stryker's *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey*; and Lee's *New Jersey as a Colony and a State*, vol. II.

The diary was written by Miss Jemima Cundict, who with her family was a faithful member of the "Mountain Society" (First Presbyterian Church of Orange), of which the "fighting parson," the Rev. Jedidiah Chapman, was the pastor. Here are the extracts in the quaint spelling of a bright young woman who had manifestly few educational opportunities, although no doubt better equipped than most of the girls about her:

"Saturday, october first, 1774. It seams we have troublesome times a coming, for there is great Disturbance abroad in the earth, & they say it is tea that caused it. So then if they will Quarrel about such a trifling thing as that, what must we expect But war; and I think or at Least fear it will be so.

"A fast day. I went with my Cousins to hear Mr. Green [the minister at Hanover], & the words of his text was: the race is Not always to Swift, nor Battle to the Strong.

"Monday, which was called Training Day. I Rode with my Dear father Down to See them train, there Being Several Companies met together. I thought it would be a mournful Sight to See, if they had been fighting in earnest & how soon they will be Called forth to the field of war we Cannot tell, for by What we can hear the Quarrels are not like to be made up without bloodshed. I have Jest Now heard Say that All hopes of Conciliation between Briten & her colonies are at an end, for both the King and his Parliament have announced our Destruction; fleets and armies are Preparing with utmost diligence for that Purpose."

Miss Jemima and her father evidently went down to Newark to see the militia at their exercises, probably in Military Park.

"Monday, May first [1775] this Day I think is a Day of mourning, we have Word Come that the fleet is Coming into New-York also & to Day the Men of our town [Newark] is to have a general meeting to Conclude upon measures which may Be most Proper to Be taken; they have chosen men to act for them, & I hope the Lord will give them Wisdom to Conduct wisely and Prudently in all matters.

"May the 17, 1776, it was fast all over the Continent; & this was Mr. Chapman's Text on that Day, O thou that hearest Prayer, unto thee Shall all flesh come. Iniquities Prevail against me; 55 Psalm.

"August the 4th [1776] Did Mr. Chapman Preach his farewell Sermon & is gone out Chaplain to the army. His text on that Day was in the 13 Chapter of Corinthians, 11 verse: finally Brethren

farewell; Be Perfect, be of good Comfort, be of one [mind] Live in Peace, & the God of Peace Shall Be with you; 2 Corinthians.

"August the 16th [1776] Then died Jared freeman. He was taken Sick at newyork among the Sogers & was brought home, & died soon after.

"September ye 12, 1777. on friday there was an alarm, our Militia was called. The Regulars Come over into elesabeth town, where they had a Brush with a Small Party of our People; then marched Quietly up to Newark; & took all the Cattle they Could. there was five of the militia of Newark they killed Samuel Crane, & took Zadock & Allen heady & Samuel freeman Prisnors. one out of five run and escapt. They went Directly up to Second River [Belleville] & on Saterdag morning march up toward wadsesson [Bloomfield]. our People attackted them there, Where they had a Smart Scurmage. Some of our People got wounded there; but I Do Not Learn that any was killed. there was Several Killed of the regulars [British], but the Number is yet unascertained."

CHAPTER XIV.

**THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE—NEWARK AND ESSEX IN
THE STRUGGLE. 1776-1777.**

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1776-1777.

THE British evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776, General Howe sailing out of Boston Harbor on that day, bound for Halifax, Nova Scotia. It had become plain enough to Washington that the enemy's next campaign would be directed against New York and the Hudson and the immediate neighborhood, and no sooner had the redcoats left Boston than he began the movement of his forces to New York. The Hudson was to the War for Independence what the Mississippi was to the Civil War. The latter divided the Confederate States, and the former separated New England (the section chiefly responsible for the defiance of the Crown) and New York, from the other colonies. If the British could obtain absolute control of the Hudson, they could hope to destroy the insurrection in two sections. But the British allowed themselves to be diverted from the Hudson and ultimately the war failed. Grant steadfastly refused to take his mind off the conquest of the Mississippi in the Civil War, and the cause of the South crumbled.¹

The first squadron of the British fleet, bearing a largely reinforced army, arrived in New York harbor on July 3, 1776. Troops were landed on Staten Island and were paraded along the north shore. They made a demonstration near Elizabethtown Point which greatly alarmed all Essex County. On July 12, two of the British warships sailed up the North River all the way to the Tappan Zee, their progress being unavailingly contested by the Continental batteries upon both the New York and the New Jersey shores. The cannonading was heard in Newark and at Second River [Belleville]—almost the first sound of actual warfare to reach this region. (There were some trivial demonstrations by the Essex County folk

¹ See Major General Francis Vinton Greene's "The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States," pp. 30-31.

against the troops on Staten Island a few days before.) Having decided that New York was difficult of defense, Washington had entrenched part of his army on Long Island, and the disastrous battle of that name was fought on August 27. The city of New York was evacuated by the Americans on September 15, and the battle of Harlem Heights occurred on the following day. In this last encounter the Continentals, although defeated, showed far more spirit than in the disgraceful and panic-stricken retreat from Kip's Bay and New York. The Battle of White Plains, in which Washington succeeded in blocking Howe's attempt to get in his rear and cut off his communications with New England, occurred on October 28. The last stand to be made on the New York side of the river was at Fort Washington, which the British captured on November 16. Three days later, the now sadly demoralized Americans gave up their stand at Fort Lee, and the "Flight through the Jerseys" was begun.

WASHINGTON'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ESSEX COUNTY FOLK.

In anticipation of the coming scourge, the following was issued by the Committee of Safety of Essex County to the people on November 10, 1776:

"The Committee of the county of Essex think it proper to inform the inhabitants of it, that they have received intelligence by letter from his Excellency, General Washington, at the White Plains, dated the 7th instant, that General Howe, with the army under his command, had retreated from that place, with an intention, as he supposed, of sending a detachment of his troops into the Jerseys: The General therefore advises all those who live near the water, to be ready to move their stock, grain, carriages and other effects back into the country. He adds if it is not done, the calamities we must suffer will be beyond all description, and the advantages the enemy will receive immensely great. * * * The article of forage is of great importance to them; not a blade, he says, should be left; what cannot without convenience be removed, must be consumed without the least hesitation.

"The Committee, taking into consideration the present alarming situation of this country, recommend it to all the inhabitants who live near the water, or the great roads leading through

the country, to remove, as soon as possible, their stock of grain, hay, carriages and other effects, into some place of safety back into the country, that they may not fall into the enemy's hands."

There was at once a general movement toward the Orange Mountains from Newark and the neighboring hamlets.* Newark's weakness in time of war was thus swiftly revealed. Being "near the water," it was then and is, of course, today, almost certain to be close to, if not actually upon, the "firing line" when this portion of the United States is invaded.

THE RETREAT; AS DESCRIBED AT THE TIME.

An excellent account of the beginning of the memorable "flight" was published in the Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, January 29, 1777, and in reproducing it here the reader is furnished with the facts, first hand:

"As our force was inferior to that of the enemy, the fort [Lee] unfinished, and on a narrow neck of land, the garrison was ordered to march to Hackinsack, which, tho' much nearer the enemy than the fort, they quietly suffered our troops to take possession of. * * * Our troops continued at Hackinsack bridge and town that day and half of the next, when the inclemency of the weather, the want of quarters and approach of the enemy obliged them to proceed to Aquaconack [Passaic] and then to Newark; a party being left at Aquaconack to observe the motions of the enemy.

"At Newark our little army was reinforced by Lord Sterling's and Col. Hand's brigades, which had been stationed at Brunswick. Three days after our troops left Hackinsack, a body of the enemy crossed the Passaic above Aquaconack, made their approaches slowly toward Newark, and seemed extremely desirous that we should leave the town without their being put to the trouble of fighting for it. The distance from Aquaconack to Newark is nine miles, and they were three days in marching that distance. * * *

"This retreat was censured by some as pusillanimous and disgraceful, but did they know that our army was at one time less than a thousand effective men, and never more than 4,000,—that the

* Ferdinand Baker of this city said (in 1913) that his grandmother was among those who fled from Newark at the time the above instructions were issued. She drove out to Westfield with one horse and managed to keep one of the family's cows with her. That night she gave birth to a child, in Westfield.

number of the enemy was 8,000, exclusive of their artillery and light horse,—that this handfull of Americans retreated slowly above eighty miles [to the Delaware] without losing a dozen men, and that suffering themselves to be forced to an action would have been their intire destruction—did they know this, they would never have censured it all—they would have called it prudent—posterity will call it glorious—and the names of Washington and Fabius will run parallel to eternity.”

This is a remarkably clear, comprehensive and far-seeing account of the “Flight through the Jerseys,” which historians of succeeding generations have been able to improve upon but little, except in the matter of details.

SOLDIERS’ APPEALS TO PATRIOTISM.

How dark the moment was, may be gathered from the following letter written from Newark, no doubt by a soldier, and published, on November 27, 1776, in the Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser. There is also an intimation that Washington and his staff were contemplating a stand at Newark. This plan, if it really was seriously considered, was frustrated by the failure of Major-General Lee to obey Washington’s urgent summons to join him here. The extract follows:

“You have no doubt heard all the particulars of our retreat from Fort Lee to Hackinsack, from Hackinsack to Aquackonack, and from thence to this place. Nothing material has happened in the fighting way. * * * I believe the Generals intend to make a stand at this place. I hope these losses will rouse the virtue of America; if she does not exert herself now, she deserves not the independence she has declared. I have still hopes of success—I heard a great man say many months ago, that America would not purchase her freedom at so cheap a rate as was imagined—nor is it proper she should, what costs us little we do not value enough.”

Two days later another soldier wrote, from Newark, the following, which graphically expressed the feeling of the moment among the soldiers:

“I have just time enough to inform you that there is very good intelligence that the enemy intend to make a push for Philadelphia. We hear part of their force is embarked, either to go up the Delaware and make their attacks on both sides at once, or else to amuse the Southern States, and prevent their sending any assistance to Philadelphia; we have not force enough to oppose their

march by land. We look to New Jersey and Pennsylvania for their militia, and on their spirit depends the preservation of America. If in this hour of adversity they shrink from danger, they deserve to be slaves indeed! If the freedom that success will ensure us, if the misery that waits our subjection, will not rouse them, why let them sleep on till they awake in bondage."

The above words, written in the stress and trial of a great emergency, are especially precious to us today. Alas, the New Jersey and the Pennsylvania militia did not rise to the emergency, nor for many days thereafter. They did not rally to the colors with the enthusiasm and the alacrity that the demands of the moment seemed to require. It was a period of the gravest concern for Washington and his official family. The Commander-in-Chief had grasped the extreme seriousness of the situation from the moment of landing upon Jersey soil. One of the most despondent letters that he penned during the entire war was written to his brother, Augustine Washington, when about to continue the retreat from Hackensack to Newark. He writes as a strong man, thoughtless of self, but all but powerless to overcome the mighty difficulties that seem to hem him in on every side. So far as he could see, the cause of the people was all but lost, although he was careful not to reveal his actual feelings to those around him. The letter to his brother follows:

WASHINGTON FEARS THE WORST.

"Hackinsac, 19 November, 1776.

"Dear Brother,

" * * * It is a matter of great grief and surprise to me to find the different States so slow and inattentive to that essential business of levying their quotas of men. In ten days from this date, there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed established regiments on this side of Hudson's River to oppose Howe's whole army, and very little more on the other to secure the eastern colonies and the important passes leading through the Highlands to Albany, and the country about the Lakes.

"In short, it is impossible for me, in the compass of a letter, to give you any idea of our situation, of my difficulties, and of the constant perplexities and mortifications I meet with, derived from the unhappy policy of short enlistments and delaying them too long.

Last fall, or winter, before the army, which was then to be raised, was set about, I represented in clear, explicit terms the evils, which would arise from short enlistments, the expense which must attend the raising of an army every year, the futility of such an army when raised; and, if I had spoken with a prophetic spirit, I could not have foretold the evils with more accuracy than I did. All the year since I have been pressing Congress to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would ensure success, telling them the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected, and then in such a manner, as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be shoe blacks, from the local attachments of this or that members of the Assembly.

"I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and I solemnly protest, that for a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year I would not undergo what I do; and after all, perhaps, to lose my character, as it is impossible, under such a variety of distressing circumstances, to conduct matters agreeably to public expectation, or even to the expectation of those who employ me, as they will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned."

Washington gave many other evidences of his gloomy apprehensions for the future because of the lack of the proper co-operation of Congress and of the governments of the states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in his private correspondence. Less than a month after the above letter was penned he wrote to Lund Washington, as follows:

"A large part of the Jerseys have given every proof of disaffection that they can do, and this part of Pennsylvania are wholly inimical. In short, your imagination can scarcely extend to a situation more distressing than mine. Our only dependence now is upon the speedy enlistment of a new army. If this fails, I think the game will be pretty nearly up, as from disaffection and want of spirit and fortitude, the inhabitants, instead of resistance, are offering submission and taking protection from Gen. Howe in Jersey." *

* On November 23, Washington wrote to Congress, from Newark, as follows: "I expected on coming here to have met with many of the militia but find from inquiry that there are not more than from four to five hundred at the different posts. The situation of our affairs is truly critical and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part."

"THE CONDUCT OF THE JERSEYS HAS BEEN MOST INFAMOUS."

On the very day after he wrote the above letter, Washington further outlined the conditions in a letter to his brother, Augustine Washington:

"But we are now in a very disaffected part of the Province [Pennsylvania]; and between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad situation; not so much from the apprehension of Gen. Howe's army, as from defection of New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania. In short, the conduct of the Jerseys has been most infamous. Instead of turning out to defend their country, & affording aid to our army, they are making their submissions as fast as they can. If the Jerseys had given us any support we might have made a good stand at Hackinsac, and after that at Brunswick; but the few militia that were in arms disbanded themselves & left the poor remains of our army to make the best they could of it."

These letters do not place New Jersey in an enviable light; they were written when Washington was deeply moved and disappointed, to find his confidence in the people misplaced. Those were bitter days for him and for the officers and men around him, who had endured all manner of hardships, giving away slowly before greatly superior numbers, making their way into a country where they had every reason to believe they would meet with spirited and generous assistance, only to find the Jersey folk panic stricken and despairing of the cause. This is not a pleasant phase of New Jersey history for us of today to contemplate, but we must remember that the people of this State had not yet "found themselves," and that disaster after disaster had crowded so rapidly one upon the other that nearly everyone had come to believe the cause of independence practically lost. Later Washington was to commend Jersey troops for their valor on the field of battle.

BETWEEN THE HACKENSACK AND PASSAIC.

On November 19, Washington wrote to the President of Congress, from Hackensack, as follows, after the retreat across the Hudson and the abandonment of Fort Lee:

"We lost the whole of the cannon that was at the Fort, except two twelve pounders, and a good deal of baggage—between two and three hundred tents, about a thousand barrels of flour and other stores in the Quarter Master's department. This loss was inevitable. As many of the stores has been removed as circumstances and time would admit of; the Ammunition had been happily got away. Our present situation between Hackensack and Passaic Rivers being exactly similar to our late one [at Harlem and later at White Plains], and our force here by no means adequate to an opposition that will promise the smallest probability of success, we are taking measures to retire over the waters of the latter, where the best disposition will be formed that circumstances will permit of."

Still at Hackensack, on November 21, Washington wrote to Major General Charles H. Lee, his second in command, then on the east side of the Hudson, in the Highlands, as follows:

"But as this country is almost a dead flat, and we have not an intrenching tool, and not above three thousand men, and they much broken and dispirited, not only with our ill success, but the loss of their tents and baggage, I have resolved to avoid any attack, though by so doing I must leave a very fine country open to their ravages, or a plentiful storehouse from which they will draw voluntary supplies."

In this letter Washington advised, although careful not to command, that Lee cross to the west side of the river and assist him in making as formidable a demonstration as possible, since he was satisfied that the enemy were shifting the seat of war to the Jersey territory and "this country will therefore expect the Continental army to give them what support they can. * * * It is therefore of the utmost importance, that at least an appearance of force should be made, to keep this province in the connexion with the others."

CORNWALLIS'S DELAY THE PATRIOTS' SALVATION.

Up to the evacuation of Fort Lee General Howe had pushed the campaign with vigor. He was now prepared to go into winter quarters and it was left to Cornwallis to complete what the British expected would be the complete annihilation of the "rebellion," which had been dealt so many sledge hammer blows in a few

months that little life remained to be crushed out. Cornwallis, accordingly took his time. Washington retreated from Hackinsack and proceeded with haste across the flats to the Passaic, to Acquackanonck, whose site, in the city of Passaic, is now marked with a suitable memorial. With his guns, Cornwallis could have harried the flying Americans terribly, and Washington is believed to have been fearfully exercised for fear the last remaining fragments of his little army would be dispersed by a swiftly pursuing foe flushed with the success of a series of victories. Had Washington been in Cornwallis's place there would have been little left of the latter's army by the time it reached the Passaic river bridge.

THE ARMY IN NEWARK.

This was the first, and at that time the only, bridge over the Passaic below the Passaic Falls. Washington crossed it on November 21, 1776, had all his forces safely over it on the morning of the 22d, and burned it immediately after. He no doubt breathed a sigh of relief when the flames arose from the structure, which was then upwards of fifteen years' old. There was no sign of a British advance, and the army proceeded down the river, in three divisions, it is believed, two being sent westward and into camp at what are now Glen Ridge and Montclair, forming the army's left wing; the third accompanying Washington into Newark.* The sick and wounded, those whom the army brought with it and possibly those that were removed to the town after the battle of Long Island, were moved still further into the hills, to Morristown. The route was probably along Second River, thence to Bloomfield by Franklin street, over the mountain and along what is now Bloomfield avenue, thence through Caldwell, to the Whippany river and by this route into Morristown.† Thus the possible but less probable route was through Orange to Livingston, Hanover and Whippany.

* Wickes' "History of the Oranges," p. 171.

† By order of Washington of September, 1776, a general hospital was established in Newark with provisions for a thousand patients under the direct charge of Dr. Foster, Deputy Director General of Hospitals east of the Hudson, and Dr. William Burnet, of Newark, who was Physician Gen-

These facts make it clear enough that Washington already had Morristown in mind as a final citadel of defense, where, if worst came to worst, he would make his last stand. Before resorting to this desperate measure it is clear that he hoped to make a stand at or near Newark, at least until General Lee's forces should arrive. Something of his military genius is shown by his disposition of the three divisions as already described. Should he succeed in luring Cornwallis to turn westward from the Passaic and pursue the two divisions in Glen Ridge and Montclair, they might have drawn the British further and further into the hilly section of Morris county, partly with the hope of destroying the "rebel" troops, and partly with a determination to root out the Ford powder mills at Morristown, which were furnishing much of that essential to the American army. In case this strategy proved successful, in whole or in part, Washington, with the remaining division in Newark, would no doubt have proceeded to Morristown by way of what are now Clinton and Springfield avenues, through the Short Hills. He had then, too, every reason to expect that Major General Charles Lee would by the time Cornwallis was well up in the hills be close at hand. Had all this eventuated, Cornwallis would have received far rougher treatment than he did at Princeton a few weeks later.

But Cornwallis delayed until the Continentals were gone. He sent small detachments to Bloomfield, Glen Ridge and Orange after Washington had left Newark, to prey upon the country.

Just how Washington disposed the division accompanying him while in Newark, is not known. It is probable that he had his headquarters in the Eagle Tavern, a little to the north of the north

eral. The following buildings were used: Trinity Episcopal Church, First Presbyterian Church at Branford place, the Court House adjoining the church, and the Academy on Washington Park. The Newark hospital was maintained intermittently throughout the greater part of the war. It is stated, although not clearly proven, that Dr. Burnet set up and conducted a hospital in Newark in 1775. One physician recommended Newark as suitable for the location of a hospital in the following: "I am persuaded it is a place infinitely superior in all respects for the establishment of a General Hospital. There are but four miles of land carriage required; all the rest is water carriage. The houses are numerous and convenient." The smallpox made serious ravages among the troops, and early in 1777 Washington ordered the soldiers inoculated. See Wickes' "History of Medicine and Medical Men in New Jersey," pp. 66, 67, 68.

corner of Broad and William streets, and that he was often in conference with Dr. Macwhorter, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, whose parsonage was near the southern corner.* There are some reasons for thinking that the division itself, part of it at least, was camped along the High street ridge. Many of the men were probably quartered upon the townspeople. There were about 140 dwellings in Newark at that time.

WASHINGTON'S LETTERS TO LEE FROM NEWARK.

On every one of the five days that Washington was in Newark, he wrote to Lee to bring his army near to him, sending his missives by despatch riders. If he had any inkling of Lee's duplicity at that time he gives no evidence of it in his writing. As for Lee, he played fast and loose with the commander-in-chief, all the while working through members of Congress who were favorable to him, and through other sources, to have himself made head of the army. Just before leaving Newark, Washington wrote to Lee, on November 27:

"Dear Sir,

"I last night received the favor of your letter of the 25th. My former letters were so full and explicit, as to the necessity of your marching as early as possible, that it is unnecessary to add more on that head. I confess I expected you would be sooner in motion. The force here, when joined with yours, will not be adequate to any great opposition. At present it is weak, and it has been more owing to the badness of the weather, that the enemy's progress has been checked, than to any resistance we could make. They are now

* Fifty years ago one tradition had it that Washington made his headquarters in the building known as "Cockloft Hall" in what is now Mt. Pleasant avenue, at Gouverneur street, and later made famous by Washington Irving. But it is to be doubted if any buildings standing there then would have been suitable. Another location sometimes given was the private residence on the southwest corner of what are now Washington street (then the "West Back street") and Court street. This house was burned by the British shortly after Washington left Newark, which fact is repeatedly mentioned in old records, while there is not the slightest intimation in these records that Washington had occupied it. Forty or so years ago there were old Newarkers still living who remembered that the Eagle Tavern was called "Washington's Headquarters" when they were young. The tavern was a two-story stone structure with wooden outhouses.

pushing this way; part of 'em have passed the Passaic. Their plan is not entirely unfolded, but I shall not be surprised if Philadelphia should turn out the object of their movement. The distress of the troops for want of clothes I feel much; but what can I do" '.

THE ARMY'S WISH TO REMAIN IN NEWARK.

In a letter to the President of Congress from New Brunswick, on November 30, Washington said: "On Thursday morning I left Newark and arrived here yesterday with the troops that were there. It was the opinion of all the generals that were with me, that a retreat to this place was requisite, and founded in necessity, as our force was by no means sufficient to make a stand, with the least probability of success, against an enemy much superior in numbers, and whose advanced guards were entering the town [Newark] by the time our rear got out. It was the wish of all to have remained there longer, and to have halted before we came thus far; but, upon due consideration of our strength, the circumstances attending the enlistment of our little force, and the frequent advices that the enemy were embarking or about to embark another detachment for Staten Island, with a view of landing at Amboy to co-operate with

' Writing of Lee, in his "The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States," Major General Greene says, (pp. 64-65): "The succession of disasters and retreats, from Long Island to White Plains and from Fort Washington to Newark, filled his traitor's mind with the thought that perhaps people would be induced to believe that Congress had made a mistake in the selection of a commander-in-chief sixteen months before, and that a soldier who had seen service under the King of England, the King of Poland and the Empress of Russia might be selected as his successor. He was therefore in no hurry to join Washington; to the latter's repeated instructions to hasten his march he returned frivolous replies, meanwhile writing to his friends, Reed, Rush and Gates, wondering if Washington was such a great man as had been thought. Finally, however, Washington's orders became so imperative that he dared not disobey, and he put his command in motion ten days after he had received the first order. He crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry (Stony Point—Verplanck's Point), and had to make a detour by way of Morristown in order to avoid Cornwallis. He marched as slowly as possible—40 miles in 8 days—and one night, while sleeping at a tavern at Basking Ridge, he was captured by Cornwallis's dragoons and carried a prisoner to Howe."

"Thus, through the villainy of this traitor in the camp, Washington actually lost more men, so far as their present use was concerned at this critical moment, than he had been deprived of by all the blows the enemy had dealt him since the beginning of the campaign."—John Fiske's "American Revolution," vol. i, p. 260.

this [Cornwallis' then in Washington's rear] * * * it was judged necessary to proceed till we came here, not only to prevent their bringing a force to act upon our front and rear, but also that we might be more convenient to oppose any troops they might land at South Amboy, which may be conjectured to be the object they had in view."

THE "TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS."

Some writers are inclined to believe that Thomas Paine, who accompanied Washington during his retreat through New Jersey, wrote that never-to-be-forgotten sentence, "These are the times that try men's souls," while in Newark. The experience of the army while here at least had much to do with making the historic utterance possible, even if it were not penned until two or three weeks later. The words apply with great force to the sad straits the army was in at that time. The soldiers were departing for their homes in droves, their terms of enlistment having expired. What inducement was there for any but the hardest and most optimistic to re-enlist? Everybody knew that the cause of independence was then trembling in the balance. Congress was unable to meet the situation. The State government was little more than a name. The commonwealth was in chaos.

Writing of this period, Gordon, in his history of New Jersey, says: "The officers were continually changing, both military and civil; and for the services of the latter, there was at this period, but too little occasion. The campaign of 1776 was the most trying period of the war. * * * Governor Livingston made the most strenuous exertions with the Assembly and with the people, to have the militia in the field to oppose the invading force. But it was not practicable to control the panic which had seized upon the mass of the population. The barefooted and almost naked Continental

* The opening sentences in Paine's celebrated tract, "The Crisis," written to inspire the patriots with fresh spirit, were: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands by it now deserves the thanks of man and woman."

army, retreating before the well appointed battalions of the enemy, impaired the confidence of the people. The defenceless Legislature, with the governor at their head, removed from Princeton to Burlington, where they adjourned on the 2nd of December, each man retiring to his home to take charge of his peculiar interests. There scarcely remained a vestige of the lately constituted government, or any who owed it allegiance; and until the battle of Trenton New Jersey might have been considered a conquered country."

A striking illustration of the conditions is to be gained from the fact that Samuel Tucker, president of the convention that formed the Constitution of the State, chairman of the Committee of Safety for the State, treasurer and later a justice of the Supreme Court, vacated his offices, renounced his allegiance and took out protection papers from the British.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN NEWARK.

Hugh Gaine, the editor and publisher of the New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, boldly upheld the patriot cause during the very early stages of the struggle. About the middle of September, 1776, he removed to Newark and published five or six copies of his weekly here, from forms half the size of those he used in New York, which would seem to indicate that he had departed from New York in some haste and had to use such printing apparatus as he could easily bring with him, or lay his hands on here. His last Newark issue is believed to have appeared on November 2. Not long after that he returned to New York, a sworn defender of the British militant faith, and seems to have been rewarded with liberal advertisements giving the status of the British forces. Thereafter in his paper he spoke of the Americans as "rebels," as did the other pro-British publications.*

* Gaine was the victim of much chaffing for his swift change of politics. Freneau, the patriot poet, held him up to ridicule more than once. In Freneau's "Rivington's Confessions" (Rivington was a staunch royalist publisher in New York) we find the following at the expense of Gaine:

"'Twou'd have pleas'd you no doubt had I gone with a few setts
Of books, to exist in your cold Massachusetts,
Or to wander at Newark like ill-fated Hugh,
Not a shirt to my back or a soal to my shoe."



THE NEWARK WASHINGTON

Washington had entered Newark and Essex County with perhaps 4,500 men, and the number grew fearfully less every day, while the British were greatly reinforced with fresh troops from England and with a large fleet, and had in the field against him something like 10,000 men. The Americans were many of them without shoes, and their clothing in rags. They were poorly fed, and they were now in Newark, where many of the so-called leading families were disaffected toward them. The New Jersey militia had failed to render the support that had been more or less confidently expected. The people of the region were in a state of panic, and the worn, dispirited and half-starved soldiers did not inspire confidence. The agents of the crown were circulating through the county offering pardon and immunity from punishment of any kind to all who would declare their allegiance to the home government—and were finding many signers. The hospitals, with their hundreds of wounded, also served to make the horror of war even more painfully apparent. Even Washington, as we have already seen, was soon to write his brother that the game was apparently about up.

THE DEPARTURE FROM NEWARK.

Washington drew in his outposts from the hills and left Newark for New Brunswick early on the morning of November 28, the beginning of the sixth day after his arrival, being convinced that no succor was to be had from Major-General Lee. As his

Gaines' "Petition" to the New York Legislature on Jan. 1, 1783, contains the following:

"To Newark I hastened—but trouble and care
Got upon the crupper and followed me there!
There I scarcely got fuel to keep myself warm,
And scarcely found spirit to weather the storm,
And was quickly convinc'd I had little to do,
(The whigs were in arms and my readers but few.)
So, after remaining one cold winter season,
And stuffing my newspaper with something like treason,
And meeting misfortunes and endless disasters,
And forc'd to submit to a hundred news masters,
I thought it more prudent to hold to the one,—
And after repenting of what I had done,
(And cursing my folly and idle pursuits)
Returned to the city and hung up my boots."

troops left Newark, the blood-stained footprints of the wretchedly shod men marked their progress. The rumble of Cornwallis's cannon over the frozen roads of Belleville could be distinctly heard in Newark, and the Tories of the town rejoiced audibly, while the patriots who for one reason or another were unable to leave, cowered in apprehension in their homes. With Washington went Parson Macwhorter, for had he remained the British would either have killed him on the spot or thrown him into prison in New York from whence he would probably never have emerged alive. The army was split into two columns, to accelerate the retreat, one proceeding by way of Elizabeth and Spanktown (now Rahway), the other through Springfield and Quibbletown (now New Market, Middlesex County). Both reached New Brunswick about the same time.

The immediate cause of Washington's departure, in addition to the appearance of Cornwallis, was a rumor that British forces were being embarked at Staten Island for Perth Amboy in order to turn the American flank and prevent further retreat across the State.

From November 28 until December 2, the main portion of Cornwallis's force lay at Newark and in the neighborhood, and the townspeople suffered terribly at the hands of the soldiers. It was virtually in Newark that the awful record of lawlessness, rapine and frenzied hatred made by the enemy during this campaign in New Jersey, was begun.

NEWARK IN THE GRIP OF THE ENEMY; PASTOR MACWHORTER'S
ACCOUNT.

A vivid description of the wanton cruelty displayed by Cornwallis's men in and near Newark after they entered the town upon Washington's evacuation of it was written by Pastor Macwhorter, early in 1777, upon his return after the army had gone into camp at Morristown, to the Rev. William Gordon of the Congregational Church at Roxbury, Mass. It is in part as follows:



Miss Macpherson

"Great have been the ravages committed by the British troops in this part of the country. Their footsteps are marked with ruin and desolation of every kind. The murders, ravishments, robbery and insults they were guilty of are dreadful. When I returned to the town, it looked more like a scene of ruin than a pleasant, well-cultivated village. One Thomas Hayes, as peaceable and inoffensive a man as any in the State, was unprovokingly murdered by one of their negroes, who ran him through the body with his sword. He also cut and slashed his (Hayes's) aged uncle in the same house, in such a manner that he has not yet recovered from his wounds.

"Three women of the town were basely ravished by them, and one of them was a woman of near seventy years of age. Various others were assaulted by them who happily escaped their lewd purposes. Yea, not only the common soldiers, but officers went about the town by night, in gangs, and forcibly entered into houses, enquiring for women. As to plundering, Whigs and Tories were treated with a pretty equal hand, and those only escaped who were happy enough to procure a sentinel to be placed as a guard at their door.

"There was one Captain Nuttman, who had always been a remarkable Tory, and who met the British troops in the Broad street with huzzas of joy. He had this house robbed of almost everything. His very shoes were taken off his feet, and they threatened hard to hang him.¹⁰ It was diligently circulated by the Tories, before the enemy came, that all those who tarried in their houses would not be plundered, which induced some to stay, who otherwise would have saved many of their effects by removing them. But nothing was a greater falsehood than this, as the event proved, for none were more robbed than those that tarried at home with their families.

"Justice John Ogden, whom you know, had his house robbed of everything they could carry away. They ripped open his beds, scattered the feathers in the air, and took the ticks with them; broke his desk to pieces and destroyed a great number of important papers, deeds, wills, etc., belonging to himself and others; and the more he entreated them to desist from such unprofitable and pernicious waste, the more outrageous they were. They hauled a sick son of his out of his bed, whose life had been despaired of for some time, and grossly abused him, threatening him with death in a variety of forms.

¹⁰ This was subsequently denied by descendants of Nuttman, who were also descended from the martyr, Joseph Hedden. Nuttman, they said, was a Tory, but a mild, inoffensive old man. Nuttman's home was about where the Newark Zinc Works were located for many years until dismantled, in the summer of 1913.

"The next neighbor to Mr. Ogden was one Benjamin Coe,¹¹ a very aged man, who, with his wife, was at home. They plundered and destroyed everything in the house, and insulted them with such rage, that the old people fled for fear of their lives, and then, to show the fulness of their diabolical fury, they burnt their house to ashes. Zophar Beach, Josiah Beach, Samuel Pennington and others, who had large families, and were all at home, they robbed in so egregious a manner that they were scarcely left a rag of clothing, save what was on their backs. The mischief committed in the houses forsaken by their inhabitants, the destruction of fences, barns, stables, the breaking of chests of drawers, desks, tables and other furniture; the burning and carrying away of carpenters' and shoemakers' tools, are intirely beyond description.

"Now this is only a faint account of the justice and humanity of the British troops. They fully answer the character of the wicked, whose mercies are cruelty. For in addition to all, they imposed an oath of absolute submission to the British King, turning the declaration contained in Howe's proclamation into an oath and causing the people solemnly to swear the same. Those who took the oath, and obtained what were falsely called protection, there are instances with us of those being robbed and plundered afterwards, but the most general way in which they obtained the effects of such people, was by bargaining with them for their hay, cattle or corn, promising to pay, but none whatever received anything worth mentioning. I might have observed that it was not only the common soldiers who plundered and stole, but also their officers; and not merely low officers and subalterns, but some of high rank were abettors and reaped the profits of their gallows-deserving business.

"No less a person than General Erskine Knight had his room furnished from a neighboring house with mahogany chairs and tables; a considerable part of which were taken away with his

"The Coe residence stood on the southwest corner of what are now Washington and Court streets, the same that was at one time thought to have been Washington's headquarters. Mrs. Coe is said to have thrown most of her silver and some other valuables out of window in a bag. They fell in a bush and were afterwards recovered by the family. In 1782 Benjamin Coe made an inventory of his losses, the original of which is still in the possession of the family. He figured his total loss at a little over £337. The items were as follows: "One dwelling house, 60 feet by 38, £250; one clock, £12; one watch, £3; two fat cattle, £12; one hundred bushels of corn, £10; twenty bushels of buckwheat, £2.10; fifteen bushels of ry, £3; thirty bushels of oats, £3; ten bushels of flax seed, £2; six large silver spoons, £6; three small silver spoons, £0.12; two feather beds, £10; by one cupboard, £5; three spinning wheels, £3; twenty lengths of fence, £2; one wooling wheel, £0.15; one reele, £0.14; ten chairs, common ones, £2; two bedstids and cords, £1.10; two hogs of two hundred wait each, £6.13.2; one calf, nine months old, £1.10; one bed, one sheet, one coverlid, £2.10."

baggage when he went to Elizabethtown. Col. McDonald had his house furnished in the same felonious manner, and the furniture was carried off as though it had been part of his baggage. Another Colonel, whose name I have forgot, sent his servants who took away a sick woman's bed, Mrs. Crane's, from under her, for him to sleep upon. But there is no end of describing their inhuman conduct. And what they practised in this town seems, as far as I can hear, only a sample of their general treatment of the inhabitants wherever they came. But there is no end of their inhuman conduct. They have not only proved themselves cruel enemies, but persons destitute of all honor; and there is no hope of relief but by expelling these murderers, robbers and thieves from our country."¹²

PLUNDERERS AND VANDALS IN BLOOMFIELD.

Detachments of the British troops made their way into what is now Bloomfield from the neighborhood of Second River over the Newtown road, now Belleville avenue, and probably along the old Bloomfield road from Newark over Franklin hill. The troops, or the cowboys, as the camp followers (the Sherman's bummers of their time were called) plundered many of the people, carrying off goods by the cart full. Years afterwards the people filed claims against the State for their losses at that time. There seems to have been comparatively little violence in that section, although later parties of young men made assaults upon the enemy and Tory refugees in Bergen, partly to wreak vengeance for the losses of their families for the thievery and vandalism of those days late in November, 1776.

ENEMY'S BRUTALITY INFLAMES ALL NEW JERSEY.

Washington's brilliant capture of Rall at Trenton, his master stroke in getting around Cornwallis's left flank a few nights later, and his achievement at Princeton the next morning, were of inestimable value to the cause of independence at this most critical juncture. But the monstrous and unspeakably brutal treatment of the defenceless old people, young women and children by the

¹² A copy of this letter, together with other material, was submitted by the State Committee of Safety to Congress and a reprint of it will be found in the New Jersey Archives, vol. 11, pp. 350-353.

invaders was quite as potent a factor in rousing Jersey-folk to desperate activity. The people now felt that they must either take to the wilderness there to fall into the hands of hostile savages, or else fight the British to the death. It is hard to tell which was the more powerful influence here in this State at least—the victories at Trenton and Princeton or the inhuman conduct of the enemy. Says Gordon: ¹⁸

“Neither the proclamation of the [British] commissioners, nor protections, saved the people from plunder or insult. They exhibited their protections, but the Hessians could not read and would not understand them, but the British soldiers deemed it foul disgrace that the Hessians should be the only plunderers. Discontents and murmurs increased every hour with the ravages of both, which were almost sanctioned by general orders, and which spared neither friend nor foe. Neither age nor sex prevented from outrage. Infants, children and old men and women were left naked and exposed, without a blanket to cover them from the inclemency of the weather. * * * But even the worm will turn upon the oppressor. Had every citizen been secured in his rights, protected in his property and paid for his supplies, the consequence might have been fatal to the cause of liberty. What the earnest commendations of Congress, the zealous exertions of Governor Livingston, and the State authorities and the ardent supplications of Washington could not effect, was produced by the rapine and devastations of the royal forces.

THE QUICKENING OF THE MILITIA.

“The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose as one man to revenge their personal injuries. Those who from age and infirmities were incapable of military service kept a strict watch upon the movement of the royal army and from time to time communicated information to their countrymen in arms. * * * The militia of New Jersey, who had hitherto behaved shamefully, from this time forward generally acquired high reputation; and through a long and tedious war, conducted themselves with spirit and discipline scarce surpassed by the regular troops. In small parties they now scoured the country in every direction, seized on stragglers, in several skirmishes behaved unexceptionably well, and collected in such numbers as to threaten the weaker British posts. * * * In a few days,

¹⁸ History of New Jersey, pp. 232, 233.

indeed, the Americans had overrun the Jerseys. The enemy was forced from Woodbridge; General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown and took near one hundred prisoners with a quantity of baggage; Newark was abandoned, and the royal troops were confined in Brunswick and Amboy."

FIRST AND SECOND BATTLES OF SPRINGFIELD.

After pursuing the British retreating from the battle of Princeton toward New Brunswick, Washington turned to the left, marching up the bank of the Millstone river, on January 3, 1777; and on the next day was seventeen miles on his way to winter quarters in Morristown. An encampment had been collecting there since early in December, 1776. There were upwards of eight hundred militia there and about the same time three regiments of the line arrived, to protect Ford's powder mills from the enemy.

On December 17 a party of Cornwallis' Hessians marched upward toward the Short Hills, either on a reconnaissance or with the hope of reaching Morristown. The militia assembled at Morristown met them at Springfield and made such a vigorous defence that the Hessians beat a more or less hasty retreat, losing about forty men in killed and captured.

The militia were becoming steadier. This was the first battle at Springfield, of which one reads but little, although it was a distinctly valuable asset to the cause, as out of it the citizen soldiery of North Jersey gained new strength and courage. In this engagement it is said that the British and the Jersey militia were about equally matched as to numbers.

A second engagement occurred at Springfield, on February 1, 1777, when a regiment of Highlanders was pushed out from Elizabethtown toward Short Hills.¹⁴ A British account reported the American losses as "two hundred and fifty men killed on the spot." This was a wild exaggeration. One of the most significant parts of this account is that the British admitted they failed to push the "advantage" they reported to have gained. In other words, they were brought to a standstill and must have retreated immediately without having accomplished anything worth their while.

NEWARK A PATRIOT OUTPOST.

During the war there were about a hundred battles and skirmishes in New Jersey, and at least a score in what was then Essex County. From the close of 1776 until after the final battle of Springfield, June 3, 1780, Newark and Elizabethtown were to be, as it were, outposts, with Staten Island and Bergen Heights as the British frontier, with the Hackensack meadows and West Hudson as more or less neutral ground. The Americans made occasional dashes into the enemy's country and the British and Hessians dashed in plundering expeditions across the border line into Elizabethtown and Newark, never getting further west than Springfield and seldom beyond Orange Mountain from Newark; and on no occasion passing the Mountain in any force.

For the most part the British incursions into this territory were made for foraging purposes, although there were two extensive expeditions to Newark largely for the purpose of overawing the inhabitants of the region. Small parties of British wormed their way through the hills looking for information concerning the Continental army when in its stronghold at Morristown. There were numerous clashes of small bodies of British and militia, and sometimes Continental line detachments, upon the Hackensack meadows, in at least one of which Aaron Burr, afterwards vice president of the United States, a native of Newark, took a courageous part.

¹⁴ See New Jersey Archives, Second Series, vol. 1, pp. 280, 281.

WASHINGTON'S VISITS TO NEWARK.

During the winter of 1777, after Washington had gone into camp at Morristown, the younger officers of his official family were intensely active, watching from the hilltops for movements of the enemy, to prevent surprises upon the camp; organizing a more perfect system of outposts and communication with headquarters, heartening the inhabitants, and contributing in many other ways to the stiffening of the sinews of the body militant. It was a time of strenuous life for the young gentlemen of the staff, including Alexander Hamilton and others. We shall never know the real measure

of their services during that period. Throughout the Morristown encampment of 1779-1780 it was very much the same. It was, no doubt, during those two winters that Hamilton gained the intimate knowledge of all this region which was to stand him in such good stead when a member of Washington's cabinet, and when he was instrumental in laying the foundation of one of New Jersey's chief industrial cities, Paterson.

Washington himself made a number of visits to Newark during those two winters, sometimes attending meetings of St. John's Lodge of Free Masons and accepting the hospitality of patriotic citizens. On at least one occasion Washington was entertained by the family of Captain Nathaniel Camp at the corner of Camp and Broad streets, riding down from Morristown along what is now Springfield avenue, to Clinton avenue. He visited Bloomfield and Orange more than once. These were never, apparently, expeditions for recreation, simply. The General wished to inform himself of the actual conditions prevailing upon the border line.

For several generations there has been a popular belief that Washington, Lord Sterling, General Knox and others of the army attended divine service in Trinity Church. There exists no proof of this. When Washington was in Newark in November, 1776, the church was used as a hospital. The Rev. Isaac Browne, the loyalist rector, wrote, on January 7, 1777, that the church had been "used by the rebels as a hospital for the sick the greater part of the summer preceding; they broke up and destroyed the seats and erected a large stack of chimneys in the middle of it." Even if the sick and wounded were all removed to Morristown while Washington was in Newark, in November, 1776, which is probable, the edifice was in no condition for services, and the rector and the majority of the church members were entirely out of sympathy with the cause of the patriots.

A few weeks after Cornwallis left Newark, late in 1776, the rector departed as did nearly all of the leading members of the church. There was no regularly installed rector until after the war, and the church is believed to have been used as a hospital

more or less intermittently until after the Continental army had marched towards Yorktown. It is highly probable, too, that it was utilized as a barracks for bodies of Continentals or militia who were more or less constantly in Newark. If Washington and the other members of his staff and of the army who were Episcopalians had wished to attend services there it would have been necessary to refurnish the edifice and provide their own clergymen, and there were not many of that sect in the army. That Washington did enter the church, and through the doorway of the original church tower that is incorporated in the present (the second) Trinity church building, is very probable, on visits to the sick or to inspect it as a barracks.

The church was not entirely without attention on the part of its parishioners, however. Uzal Ogden, a Newark merchant, and one of the wardens of the church who remained in the village during the war, was, on Easter Monday, 1779, authorized to write to his son, the Rev. Uzal Ogden, then a missionary in Sussex County who had been ordained a minister of the Church of England in 1775, "and desire him to visit the Parish at Newark and Second River and confer with them respecting his preaching to then and administering the Sacraments at certain times as shall be agreed upon." He does not seem to have done more than make occasional visitations. Previous to the above call, in February, 1779, Dr. Ogden must have had some temporary connection with the church management, for it is set down in the old church records that he complained to Colonel Shreve that his regiment, the Second New Jersey Continental Line, stationed in the village for that winter, had, on February 8 and on February 20 broken open the windows and doors and done other damage to Trinity church.

A force of some size, composed of Tories and British, moved upon Second River early in April, 1777, in all probability coming from Bergen heights, across the Hackensack and along the old Schuyler road, now the Belleville turnpike, and making use of the ford a little distance above the present Belleville bridge over the Passaic. An American account of the affair reads: "A party of

armed Tories lately made their appearance near Newark, when they were attacked by the Militia, who killed a captain and two privates, and put the rest to flight." A British account in which defeat is virtually acknowledged, coupled with an unreliable story that General Greene and his Continentals were in the fight, is as follows: "The expedition to Newark and Second River did not turn out agreeable to our expectations. The tide being rather late, the troops could not land, and lucky for them it was so, for Mr. Greene arrived at Newark yesterday [April 8] evening with a whole brigade; however, our people crossed Second River, beat the rebels as far back as Wardsession, killed three of them, without any other loss on our side than that Marsh received a bad wound in the right breast."

This engagement was spoken and written of for several generations thereafter as the "Battle of Wardsession" (Bloomfield).

About two hundred of Colonel Dayton's regiment, New Jersey Continental Line, were stationed at Newark in the late spring of 1777.

WASHINGTON CHARGED WITH TREACHERY.

From a letter written by a Tory to friends in New York at that time we read that "the men are very badly clothed and almost barefooted; that the generality of the people throughout the Jerseys express great dissatisfaction at Mr. Washington's Behaviour when he was last attacked at Metouching [Metuchen] Meeting-House, for retreating in such a Manner, and leaving the Inhabitants to be plundered; that they begin to suspect Mr. Washington is treacherous, and going to sell their Country. This they are induced to believe from the great Dispersion of the Rebel Army in their Retreat, which was so great that they did not get altogether again in seven or eight days."

ACTIVITIES AT SECOND RIVER.

As a matter of fact Washington was at that time, and until the end of June, striving to draw Howe up into the hills or on to ground where, with his inferior and comparatively undisciplined

army, he would have a fair chance for success in a general engagement. It was a very pretty series of maneuvers which we have no time to discuss here. But the British had become exceedingly cautious in dealing with Washington; Trenton and Princeton had taught them much. Near the close of June, Howe put his army on the fleet and sailed for the Chesapeake, and the scene of war shifted to Pennsylvania.

According to an item in Hugh Gainé's New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, a large part of Washington's army was gathered for a time along Second river at "the Clove," which means the gully along the northern boundary of the present city of Newark, from Summer avenue west. This was late in July, 1777. From there it marched for Philadelphia, passing through the town of Newark, Elizabethtown and onward. The rest of the army proceeded southward from Morristown.

A little later the same industrious newspaper man, once so staunch in his upholding of the patriot cause, announced, on September 14, 1777, that a detachment of British troops had captured fourteen "rebel" prisoners at Newark and Second River. The "detachment" was far from small and the occurrence of some importance, as will now appear.

GENERAL CLINTON'S DESCENT UPON ESSEX COUNTY.

Early in September, 1777, General Clinton planned and executed with at least partial success an extensive movement into the "enemy's country," with Elizabethtown, Newark and Acquackanonck, as the objective points. It was the only regularly laid out series of military maneuvers during the entire war in which Newark had a part. Primarily, it seems to have been the purpose of Clinton to collect as large a number of cattle and as great a quantity of the harvest as possible. But that he also had in mind a still further incursion into the "back country" seems probable, as upwards of five thousand men were engaged, on the British side, in the entire operation. While the British officers still continued to treat the

Americans with contempt, they had gained a more wholesome respect for their qualities as a foe. Clinton, for instance, now knew well that he needed a strong force to even pass successfully from Elizabethtown, through Newark to Acquackanonck.

"My principal motive was, if possible," Clinton reported to General Howe, on September 23, 1777, "to attempt a stroke against any detached corps of the enemy, if one offered, or, if not, to collect a considerable number of cattle, which would at the same time prove a seasonable refreshment to our troops, and deprive the enemy of resources which I understand they much depended upon, and finally to retire with our booty by the only road practicable with these embarrassments [cattle, foodstuffs and other plunder], to re-embark, return at our camp or proceed on any other expedition if anything presented itself."

The expedition was developed from four points and as nearly simultaneously as was possible, the operations beginning on September 12th. Three British regiments, two detachments of Hessian grenadiers and three hundred Tories were landed at Elizabethtown Point. About three hundred men with two cannon were brought around into Newark Bay and up the Hackensack, going ashore at Schuyler's Ferry, commonly known as Dow's Ferry. Three full British regiments, five companies of grenadiers, five cannon and a troop or so of cavalry moved from Fort Lee down on to the flats and across the Hackensack meadows toward the Passaic. Two hundred Tories and forty marines, constituting the fourth division in the undertaking, were landed at Tappan. And all this directed chiefly against the people of Essex County who did not, including men, women and children, number more than 12,000 souls, with none of the Continental army to defend them, and with only their militia to rely upon!

CLINTON'S HEADQUARTERS OPPOSITE BELLEVILLE.

Informed that the troops were in readiness to move, General Clinton, himself, sailed into Newark Bay to Schuyler's landing on the Hackensack and proceeded along the Schuyler road—built by John Schuyler a dozen years before from his copper mines opposite what is now Belleville to the Hackensack to insure an easy mode of

transportation for his ore. It is known today as the old Belleville turnpike. Clinton made his headquarters in the John Schuyler house, still standing (1913), some distance east of the river road and a short distance south of the present Belleville bridge over the Passaic.

There he learned that the force that had descended upon Elizabethtown had moved beyond that village and was coming toward Newark driving the militia and the cattle before it. He ordered the troops about him to make a demonstration on their side of the river on the "heights of Schuyler" to the east of the John Schuyler house. From the heights the General himself noted that the village of Newark was in turmoil and from the sound of firing gathered that the advance from Elizabethtown was harrying the people to the west of the town of Newark, as well.

He remarks at this juncture in his account to General Howe that "about noon the enemy were much increased in number and had got one piece of cannon."

This means that the militia of Newark and the county were assembling from every direction. During the war Washington presented Captain Nathaniel Camp of Newark with a cannon to be used by the local militia if occasion arose. This may have been the solitary gun which General Clinton noted. It stands on the lawn at Washington's headquarters, Morristown, today, and has been known for over a century as "Old Nat."

ENEMY'S NIGHT MARCH FROM NEWARK.

All day long General Clinton heard the sound of musketry from Newark and to the westward, with an occasional cannon shot. But it was not until nightfall that the British entered the center of Newark, whereupon Clinton sent a messenger to the officer in command of the force in Newark to acquaint him of his (Clinton's) position. For some reason never adequately explained, the force in Newark did not remain there long, its leader deciding it was best to push on toward Acquackanonck. Why? Clinton does not explain.

Why, if he had subdued the village of Newark did not the leader of the invading force elect to stay there and pass a comfortable night? Why was he so anxious to push on?

The inference is that he did not like the temper of the citizen soldiery whom he had aroused. If the militia swept down from the hills west of the village the town centre might become too hot to hold him. Then, and for several hours thereafter, General Clinton, watching from the heights of Schuyler, heard the lowing of cattle and the sound of marching men. He noted that the din grew nearer and nearer, and presently he could tell that his force across the Passaic was about opposite him, that is, at Second River. "I judged it best for him to halt until morning," wrote Clinton to Howe, and thus the British halted for the remainder of the night at the "Ravine," as Clinton called it, or on the north side of Second River, about opposite the present Forest Hill station of Greenwood Lake branch of the Erie Railroad.

AN ALL-DAY BATTLE AT SECOND RIVER.

In the morning it became plain that the militia had increased in numbers, and that they now had three pieces of cannon and had arranged them as a battery on the south side of Second River. The situation looked serious enough to call General Clinton across the Passaic to the scene. There was fighting all day long at Second River, on Clinton's admission, which is proof enough that the countryside was thoroughly aroused and that the militia were making a plucky and determined stand against superior numbers and well-disciplined regulars.

"To try their countenance," says Clinton, "and give no [an?] opportunity to the provincials, I ordered [Van] Buskirk's battalion to march through a cornfield, with an intention of taking in flank a body of the rebels posted behind a stone-wall, and which it would have been difficult to have removed with a front attack. The regiment marched with great spirit, and their march, with some little movement to favour it, obliged the rebels to quit without a shot.

I then repassed the river, desiring General Campbell to lose no opportunity of giving them a brush, and, if possible, of taking their cannon."

CLINTON EXCEEDINGLY CAUTIOUS.

The cannon were not taken, and the British succeeded in making no demonstration of any consequence, or we may be sure General Clinton would have mentioned it. The whole day through the redcoats had striven to surround the fighting folk of Essex, and had failed, despite the fact that they had a full brigade of trained regulars. It was now Clinton's intention, as night drew on,—the second night since the invaders had left Elizabethtown for Newark and Acquackanonck—to use a company of cavalry, sent from Paulus Hook (now Jersey City) to join the British force at Fort Lee, together with part of the foot force at Fort Lee, to co-operate with his force that had been engaged with the militia of Essex at Second River throughout the day. He wanted these reinforcements in order that he might make sure of surrounding the militia on the hill beside Second River. He was presently informed that the "rebels" at Second River seemed to be departing into the woods, and a little later got word from Fort Lee that the Americans seemed to be gathering in large numbers near the Clove (not far from what is now the State line and not the Second River ravine). So the cautious Clinton ordered the force at Second River to withdraw in the morning, which shows that, although only on the very edge of the region where the militant rebels abounded, he was exceedingly anxious lest he meet with some disaster.

CLINTON COUNTS HIS PLUNDER.

At day break the Second River force proceeded toward Acquackanonck, the cattle that had been taken being brought across the Passaic at the ford, a few hundred feet north of the present Belleville bridge. In the meantime Clinton sent part of his force from the heights of Schuyler across to Second River to "cover the entry of the defile," which no doubt meant the gully leading from

Second River and Washington avenue to the river road. This maneuver accomplished, the detachment from Schuyler heights returned and remained with its cannon, to hold the Essex militia in check should they again appear and attempt to cross the river, while Clinton proceeded to the neighborhood of Fort Lee. The supposed gathering of Americans at the Clove near Fort Lee seems to have been largely imaginary, for the whole expedition retired from New Jersey a few days later. General Clinton's report to General Howe says he brought away 400 head of cattle, "including 20 milch cows for the hospital (which was all I would suffer to be taken from the inhabitants), 400 sheep and a few horses." And these figures were probably not greatly exaggerated, although the greater part of the live stock is believed to have been taken in the territory between the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. He reported eight killed, nineteen wounded, ten missing and five of his people taken prisoners. He made no effort to estimate the American loss. He was inclined to think that in the day-long engagement, the Essex militia were reinforced from the Continental army, but this is very doubtful.

The whole occurrence is of interest and value. The expedition was typical of many, many others, and serves to demonstrate that the people of this neighborhood had now come to realize the kind of warfare they must carry on if they were to co-operate with the Continental army in achieving independence. They were not often strong enough to wage a pitched battle, but they could present a sturdy resistance to the enemy's advance into their country, punish him severely at every point where the ground was favorable and hang on his flanks and rear, and harry him unmercifully from the instant he began the inevitable retreat.¹⁵

¹⁵ It was this battle of Second River that little Miss Jemima Cundict (Condit), of Orange, wrote the following in her diary already quoted in the last chapter: "September 12, 1777. on friday there Was an alarm, our Militia was Called. The Regulars Come over into elesabeth town, Where they had a Brush With a Small Party of our People; then marched Quietly up to Newark; & took all the Cattle they Could. there was five of the militia [of] Newark [killed] they killed Samuel Crane & took Zadock and Allen heady and Samuel freeman Prisnors. one out of five run and escapt.

Late in January, 1778, the Newark Academy, built by the public-spirited people of the town, on Washington Park, was reopened "for the reception of twenty scholars, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Robert Davidson, at forty shillings each quarter for tuition and fifteen pounds for boarding. The building had been used for a portion of the previous two years and a half as a hospital for soldiers.

But the people were vigilant, nevertheless, and at about the same time one half of the able-bodied men were always on duty, as militiamen, patrolling the banks of the Passaic and holding themselves in readiness to repel invasion, or at least retard it. "In case of refusal to do such duty," says a newspaper account of the time, "or neglect of any person, the Capt. of the Company to which he belongs has Power to hire a Man in his Room, for a certain Sum agreed upon for one Month, which Sum is to be levied off the Delinquent's estate, at the expiration of the time, and sometimes the fine amounts to £100."

They went Directly up to Second River, & on Saturday morning towards wadsesson [In their attempt to turn the militia's left] our People attacked there, Where they had a Smart Scurmage. Some of our People got wounded there; but I do not learn that any was killed, there was Several Killed of the regulars, but the Number is yet unascertained."

CHAPTER XV.
WAR-WORN NEWARK, 1778-1780.

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WAR-WORN NEWARK, 1778-1780.

THE winter of 1777-1778 was that which the Continental army spent in terrible privation and hardship at Valley Forge, followed by the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British in the middle of June, 1778, and the pursuit of the enemy by Washington across New Jersey to Monmouth, where the famous battle of that name was fought on June 27 and 28. Had it not been for the treason of Major General Charles Lee, the same who had designedly kept Washington in uncertainty as to his movements while the Continental Army was in Newark in November, 1776, the British would have been severely beaten. As it was, they left the field during the night of the 28th and managed to make their way to transports and thence to New York, in safety.

During the late summer and fall of 1778 Washington and a large part of his army were posted along the Hudson guarding that "Mississippi of the Revolution," while the French fleet and the New England militia with a comparatively small force of the line were busy at and near Newport. Washington's winter camp for 1778-1779 was at Middlebrook (now Bound Brook), with small detachments at Elizabethtown and Newark, Ramapo, West Point and Fishkill.

THE SECOND JERSEY CONTINENTAL LINE REGIMENT'S WINTER IN NEWARK.

Here in Newark was stationed, from the fall of 1778 to the middle of May, 1779, Colonel Israel Shreve's Second regiment, New Jersey Continental line. When the regiment was about to break camp, "a number of the inhabitants of the town," says a newspaper account of the time, "gave an elegant entertainment to the officers of the regiment, and appointed Dr. William Burnet, jun., one of the surgeons in charge of the Newark soldiers' hospital, to present to

the Colonel the following address in testimony of their appreciation and esteem: 'Deeply impressed with a grateful sense of the obligation the inhabitants of this town are under unto you, Sir, and the other officers of the 2d New-Jersey regiment, permit me in the name, and by order of a committee appointed for that purpose, to assure you that we shall always retain the warmest sentiments of gratitude and respect for the great attention you have paid to the welfare, peace and safety of the town during your command here.

"The great regularity and good order that has been maintained among the troops, their respectful treatment of the inhabitants and the constant harmony that has subsisted between them and the soldiery, we are sensible, has been greatly owing to the prudence, diligence and care of their officers.

"As your vigilant conduct here must have gained the approbation of the Honorable Congress, and his Excellency the Commander in Chief, we doubt not, if it was consistent with the more general public good, but you would be continued longer on this station, which would give great pleasure and be no small security unto us.

"Since it is otherwise, we silently submit, and are happy in this opportunity of expressing the great satisfaction we have had in your behavior among us; and wherever divine Providence may call you, we most ardently wish you may be useful and happy, and gloriously instrumental in the salvation of your country."

PATRIOTIC TOASTS IN 1779.

A high tribute, indeed. Few communities upon which soldiers have been quartered for months see them depart with such feelings. Colonel Shreve responded gracefully. Then the company sat down to dinner in one of the Newark taverns. "After dinner," continues the newspaper account, "the following toasts were drank, and the day was spent with agreeable festivity and mutual satisfaction and joy:

1. The United States of America.
2. The Congress.
3. His Excellency Washington.
4. The Army and Navy.
5. The King and Queen of France and all our foreign Allies.
6. Doctor Franklin and our Ambassadors at Foreign Courts.
7. The Governor and

State of New Jersey. 8. The memory of all those worthies who have gloriously fought and bled in defence of their country. 9. The glorious minority of the British parliament. 10. The friends of freedom throughout the world. 11. May the glorious example of the first asserters and defenders of American freedom be always hallowed by their posterity. 12. A speedy, honourable and lasting peace. 13. May the American fair never give their hearts or hands to any but those who have virtue and courage to defend them.

And all this with peace over four years away! It serves to show, however, that the popular hope for ultimate victory was now waxing stronger, although Newark was still to feel the heavy hand of war, many times over, and the mettle of her sons was to be put to the test again and again.

It was probably the officers of this regiment who celebrated St. Tammany's day, May day, 1779, as told by the New Jersey Journal: "Saturday last being the anniversary of St. Tammany, the titular saint of America, the same was celebrated at Newark by a number of the gentlemen of the army." These celebrations were good-natured May day rollickings under the name of an old Indian chief, Tamemund, with no political significance and originated before the war. New York's Tammany grew out of them, but not until after the War for Independence.

DID GENERAL WAYNE CAMP IN NEWARK?

There seems to be no way of ascertaining the location of Colonel Shreve's camp. No known records give any hint of its location. It is a striking coincidence, however, that Newark has cherished for generations a tradition that General Wayne, "Mad Anthony," was in camp in what is now the Woodside section of Newark in the winter of 1778-1779. Until a few years ago there stood between Summer and Mt. Prospect avenues a modest little stone building known throughout the neighborhood as the place where General Wayne stopped. This structure was a few hundred yards north of what is now Ellwood avenue. It is hard to under-

stand how the newspapers of the day should, on several occasions during that same period, note that a regiment of the New Jersey line was located in Newark and overlook the fact that Wayne, with a much larger force, was near at hand—if it were so. The Continental newspapers might naturally suppress the fact, in order not to give information that would be of value to the enemy. But pro-British prints in New York told of the presence of Shreve and his men and make no mention of Wayne. It is quite within the realm of possibility, then, that the Wayne camp was really the camp of Colonel Shreve's command, as in this place it would be quite near enough to the village of Newark to furnish succor, and at the same time be much freer from surprise by the enemy than if quartered in the centre of the village. Moreover, it would have been better for the morale of Shreve's regiment and for the well-being of the village to have the troops on the outskirts.

¹ The camp, whether that of Colonel Shreve or of General Wayne, has been defined as extending north from about Ellwood avenue along the ridge now paralleled by Mt. Prospect, Clifton avenue and Ridge street, to Second River. Traces of the encampment were reported to have been discovered some thirty or more years ago, along the ridge, and also near Second River, in the neighborhood of the present branch of the Erie Railroad. But these last mentioned traces might well enough have been vestiges of the two days' struggle at that point already described in the last chapter. The soldiers, whoever they were, cut down much of the wood on the surrounding land and later the State reimbursed the owner, Minard Coeyman. There is a tradition in Woodside to this day, that at roll call the soldiers would emerge from their huts, throw down their caps in the deep snow and stand on them in their bare feet.

One tradition has it that Wayne moved his men out of this camp and on up the old Bloomfield road and thence to Morristown by way of Bloomfield, Montclair, Caldwell and Whippany, because

¹ See Newark Daily Advertiser, December 12, 1884. Also, "Woodside," by C. G. Hine, pp. 79-83.

of rumors that the British were approaching in force. It is also recounted that the march was made in the deep snow, in February, 1779, and that the soldiers left the marks of their bloodstained feet in the snow. The old Bloomfield road ran into what is now Mt. Prospect avenue at Abingdon avenue, and into what is now Belleville avenue by way of Second avenue.

During the winter of 1778-1779 Washington remained upon the south bank of the Hudson, at West Point.

"LIGHT HORSE HARRY" LEE'S DESCENT UPON PAULUS HOOK.

There were but two military events in the northern section of the country in 1779, Anthony Wayne's capture of Stony Point on July 17 and the descent upon Paulus Hook (now Jersey City), by "Light Horse Harry" Lee. This last achievement was received with great joy by the patriots of Newark and of all Essex. Young Lee descended upon the fortifications at Paulus Hook, the place then being nothing more than a garrison fort, captured 158 men and left in a hurry before the enemy in New York could send reinforcements.

CAPTURE OF TORY RECRUITS AT SECOND RIVER.

The only warlike episode in the Newark neighborhood during the year, after the departure of Colonel Shreve and his men, was the sudden dash, in June, of a party of patriots upon a man named Lawrence at Second River (Belleville) while he was enlisting men for the British service. At the moment of his capture Lawrence's wife threw the enlistment papers into the fire, and the patriots became so intent upon saving them that the prisoner escaped. On the strength of the information gathered from the half-burned muster roll, however, thirteen men of the neighborhood were arrested and sent off to Morristown to jail.

It is pleasant to know that even in these troublous times Newark was blessed with at least one "general store," as the following advertisement in the New Jersey Journal for July 3, 1779, makes plain:

A NEWARK STORE OF 1779.

"BEACH and HEWS have for sale in Newark, for cash or country produce, the following articles, viz.:

"Black cloth, mohair of different colours, mohair and basket buttons, regimental ditto, sewing silk, fine thread by pound or less, ribbands, pins by the packet or paper, apron and cap tape, chintz and calicoes, white figured mode, stripe and figured gauze handkerchiefs, black ditto, long lawns, skeleton wire, blue stamp linen handkerchiefs by the dozen or single, cotton romals, sewing needles, horn combs by the dozen or less, smiths' and carpenter files, sleeve buttons, women's black gloves, writing paper, Dilworth's spelling books, New England primers, thimbles by the dozen, silver brooches, platteen and plated shoe buckles by the dozen, white metal shoe, knee and stock ditto by the dozen, double flint glass tumblers, bonnet papers, bohea tea, sugar, indigo, snuff by the bladder, tobacco, copperas, pepper, brimstone, ginger, Philadelphia made earthen ware, rock and shore salt, cyder spirits by the barrell or gallon. Also sundry articles too tedious to mention."

Thus we get a most instructive and at the same time entertaining glimpse of the actual life in Newark of the time, through the commodities most in demand. It is impossible to this day to definitely locate the store. A few years after the war David Beach had a coach manufactory in Broad street, on the east side, a little above Market street. It is possible that this store may have been conducted there.

In December, 1779, Washington withdrew his headquarters from the Hudson and made his encampment at Morristown for the last time during the war. One division remained along the Hudson to protect West Point and points lower down. It was Washington's original intention to make his camp at Scotch Plains, but he finally decided that Morristown possessed more advantages. From this point small parties were continually being sent out to aid in protecting the country in the neighborhood of the North River and Newark, Elizabeth and other sections comparatively close to Staten Island where a large body of the British were encamped. Throughout this winter, 1779-1780, the west bank of the Passaic in Newark and to Second River and above was patrolled by the Continental pickets.

"We hear," remarked the New Jersey Gazette, on February 8, 1780, "that on Wednesday last 3 brigades of our army were detached from Morristown to Newark and Elizabethtown in order to cover those parts of the country from the depredations of the enemy."

BURNING OF NEWARK ACADEMY AND THE MARTYRDOM OF
JOSEPH HEDDEN.

But these precautions were not taken until serious damage had been done by the enemy both in Newark and Elizabethtown. It was a winter remarkable in the annals for its severity. The Hudson was frozen over between New York and what is now Jersey City to considerable depth; the British moved their troops over it with ease, as was, of course, the case with the Passaic.² On the night of January 25, 1780, a regiment descended suddenly upon Newark, proceeding from New York to Paulus Hook on the ice, marching over Bergen Hill, across the Hackensack and thence to the Passaic. One of the most significant features of the enterprise was that, although the British marched miles on a bitter cold night to get here, they are said to have remained less than twenty minutes. They focused their attack upon the town Academy, a substantial two-story brown-stone structure at the southern end of Washington Park, about opposite the head of Halsey street. The Academy was built in 1774 and was the pride of the community. It was very useful during the early years of the war as a hospital for American soldiers, was used for school purposes during the quiet periods, and at the time of the British assault upon it on that crisp night in January, 1780, was a barracks for a small outpost of Washington's army.

The Continentals were too few to make a successful resistance, although they appear to have made as spirited a defence as

² Rivington's Gazette, early in February, 1780, told of the seizure by a party of Tories of "three handsome sleighs with 10 good horses, all of which were yesterday driven to New York from Staten Island over the ice, an enterprise never yet attempted since the first settlement of the country."

was possible under the circumstances, since the British reported seven or eight of them killed. The enemy burned the Academy and took a number of prisoners.

One of the most active and fearless patriots in Newark, in fact, in all the region, was Joseph Hedden, junior, who was at that time confined by illness in his home on the east side of Broad street, about midway between Lombardy and Bridge streets. He had been a tireless worker for the cause of liberty and as one of the three Newark men constituting the local Committee of Safety organized in 1775, had been largely instrumental in enforcing the laws of the new State with regard to the confiscation of Tories' estates. It was probably one of these who informed the leaders of the British attacking party as to Hedden's whereabouts, for, while the Academy was burning, a detachment was sent across Broad street to his home to get him.

In response to loud knockings on the door, clearly heard above the din by some of his neighbors in their homes near by, Hedden's wife opened the door, robed only in her nightdress. She strove to prevent her husband's removal without proper clothing and in the scuffle received two slight bayonet wounds. Hedden was roughly hauled from his bed and with very little more than his nightclothes upon him and with no shoes on his feet, forced, with a few others of his fellow-citizens, to march with the soldiers all the way to Paulus Hook, being transported from there to New York, where he was thrown into the sugar house prison. Late the next summer his relatives procured his release and he was brought home to Newark, where he soon after died, a martyr to the cause for which he had given the best that was in him with absolute fearlessness and efficiency. Hedden's death was directly due to exposure in that night of intense cold. Both his legs became mortified.

While the British were intent upon their depredations here, the sky in the direction of Elizabethtown suddenly became illumined and the redcoats in Newark, fearful lest the whole countryside was aroused and arming to attack them in great numbers, retreated with some haste. As a matter of fact, the turmoil in Elizabeth-

town was caused by another detachment of British which had moved upon the town from Staten Island, neither expedition having any knowledge that the other was projected. The old First Presbyterian church in Elizabethtown was burned on that night, and other damage done. The enemy had evidently selected this night of extreme cold, believing that the fighting men of the county could not be readily assembled in such weather.

Had it not been for the scare given the Newark attacking party by the demonstration in Elizabethtown, Newark would probably have suffered more severely. In leaving Newark the British are believed to have proceeded down Centre street, along what is now River street, and thence to the Plank road (Ferry road, as it was then called). Eleazer Bruen, who lived at what is now the corner of Commerce and Market street plaza, braved the wrath of the British, and running from his home, is said to have thrown a blanket over Hedden's shoulders. Hedden died in September, 1780, and was laid to rest in the Old Burying Ground. On his tombstone was carved the following inscription:

"This monument is erected to the memory of Joseph Hedden, Esq., who departed this life the 27th of September, 1780, in the 52nd year of his age.

He was a firm friend to his country
In the darkest times.
Zealous for American Liberty
In opposition to British Tyranny,
And at last fell a victim
To British Cruelty."

Newark has let over one hundred and thirty years slip by without doing the memory of this patriot even the simple honors which community self-respect would seem to demand.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

A British account of the expedition, as published in Rivington's Gazette in New York, on January 29th, was in part as follows:

"Major Lumm of the 44th Regiment marched from Powles Hook about 8 at night, having under his command the flank companies of that regiment, with detachments from the 42nd Anspach and Hessian corps in garrison in this city, and passing the rebel patrols on the banks of the Passaic, reached the town of Newark unperceived by the enemy, about an hour later than Col. Buskirk's arrival at Elizabethtown. Small parties were instantly posted to guard the principal avenues to the town, and Major Lumm seized possession of the Academy which the rebels had converted into a barrack. A momentary defence being attempted, seven or eight of the enemy were killed. The remainder, consisting of 34 non-commissioned officers and private men, were taken prisoners, as were likewise a rebel magistrate³ remarkable for his persecuting spirit, and another inhabitant. The Captain who commanded in Newark escaped. The Lieut. is said to be killed."

Fortunately, there is preserved to us, in the New Jersey Journal of February 2, 1780, another account, written from the American viewpoint. That portion of it dealing with the depredations in Newark is as follows:

"The same night another party of the enemy, consisting of draughts from the different regiments stationed in New York, passed over the North River, in sleighs, to Powles Hook, from thence through Bergen, the nearest way to Newark. They entered the town in three divisions, and immediately proceeded to the academy, where they surprised and took about fifteen men, being all the troops that were on duty in the town. A lieutenant, notwithstanding he was twice a prisoner with the enemy, by his vigilance, effected his escape.

"They then set fire to the academy, which they consumed; during which time a party was detached to several of the inhabitants' houses, which they rifled of the most valuable effects; that which was not portable they destroyed. They took off Justice Hedden, and Robert Neil, jun.⁴ two of the inhabitants. The former gentleman was taken out of his bed and without any other clothes on except his shirt, and a pair of stockings, carried off, notwithstanding the strongest solicitations of Mrs. Hedden, to the officers for permission for her husband to dress himself, who received two wounds with a bayonet, one in the face, the other in her breast, by those mighty veterans of his fallen Majesty. They continued in

³ Joseph Hedden.

⁴ One of the town's merchants before and after the war, a staunch patriot and an officer in the militia.

the town about fifteen or eighteen minutes. A few militia being hastily collected, pursued their rear, by which five of the enemy fell into their hands. Two of them died a short time after with the intense cold.

"We are informed that Justice Hedden is so frost-bit that he will lose both his legs."

There is an old story to the effect that a young son of Joseph Hedden, terrified at the capture of his father, escaped from the house at the rear, ran down to the frozen river and made his way on the ice to a house on the Gully road, just north of what is now Mt. Pleasant Cemetery. From there he is supposed to have gone on to friends in Bloomfield. It has never been satisfactorily verified, however.

Throughout the remainder of that winter Newark was too heavily guarded by detachments from headquarters at Morristown for the British to venture near. Late in May, however, a strong party of British, in command of a major, landed on the Newark meadows at 2 o'clock in the morning. They reported that they captured thirty-four "rebels," killing four, having four of their own men wounded. They had the grace to admit that their contemplated surprise of the town was only partially successful, which really means their movement was discovered by the patrols and that the militia were quickly mobilized and made stiff enough opposition to cause the commanding officer to decide it was not wise to go further.

Here is an American account of the same affair from the New Jersey Journal:

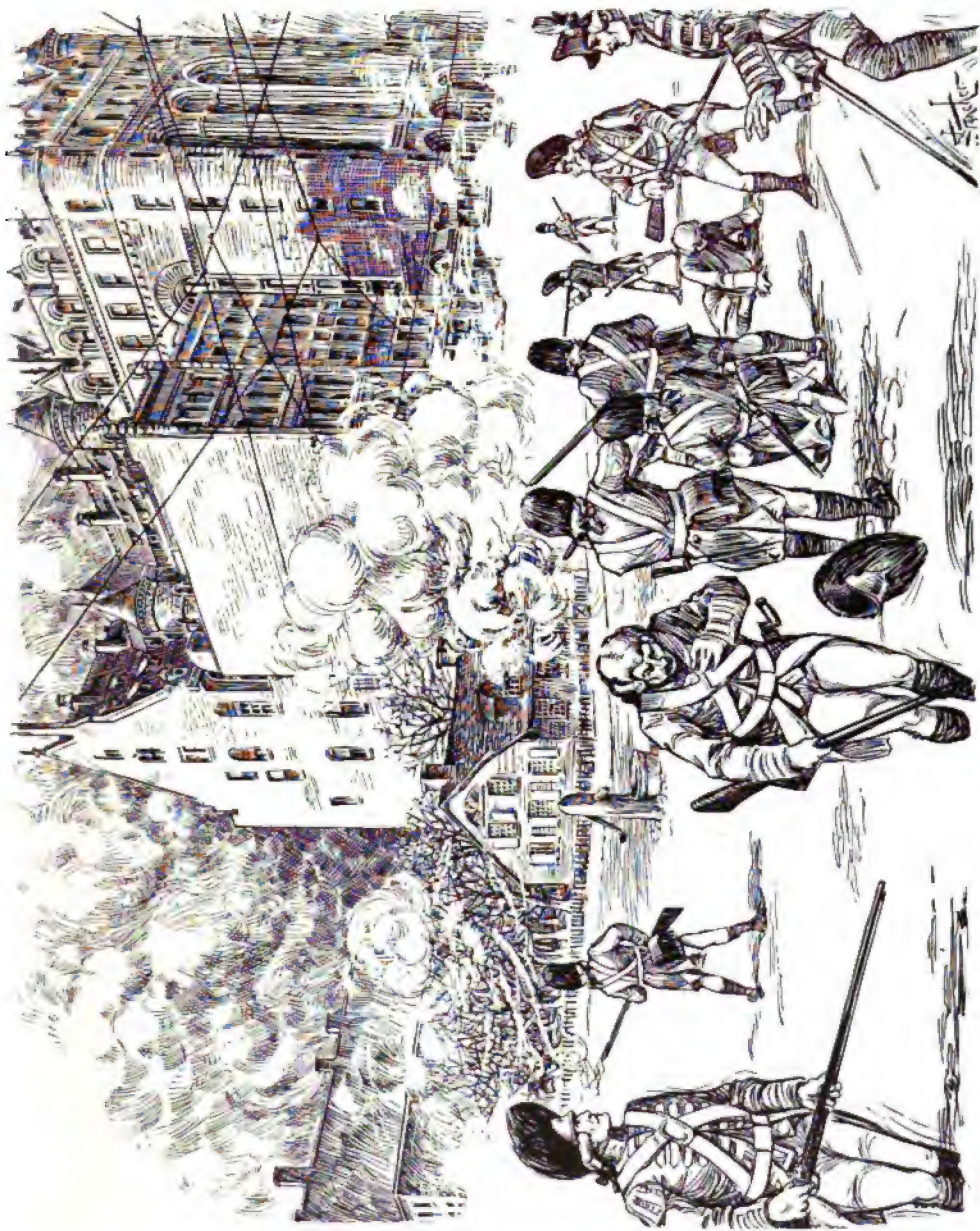
"Chatham, May 31.—On Friday morning last about daybreak the Fifty-seventh regiment from Staten Island entered the town of Newark, plundered some of the inhabitants to a very considerable amount, and carried off about twenty of them prisoners. When they retreated, a few spirited militia pushed their rear very hard and wounded a few, but we do not learn they killed or took any prisoners. The late gallant officer, Capt. Henry Knox (who commanded the forlorn hope at Stony point fort) and another of our people, were wounded; the former it is feared will not recover, being wounded in the face and his tongue shot away."

A SKIRMISH AT MARKET AND BROAD STREETS.

The British never came to Newark without paying for it in blood. They well knew that the people would attack them from "behind each fence and farmyard wall," from the moment they faced about and made for Bergen Hill. On one of these occasions, after a foraging expedition to the westward, a detachment of the enemy hard pressed by militia, made a brief stand at the corners of Market and Broad streets, according to an apparently well-authenticated story. The patriots blazed away at them from the houses, and the British noticed that the fire was particularly brisk from the house on the northwest corner. At last a charge was ordered and a few British dashed up to the house (which was owned and occupied by John Alling and his family), beat open the door and chased three or four young men out of the rear of the house, through the orchard at the rear, wounding one of the Allings. In the house they found an old man who is said to have been loading the guns for the younger men to fire. One of the soldiers was about to kill the old man, but one of his more humane comrades stopped him.

REPRISALS—AN UNDERGROUND RAILWAY.

Goaded by the frequent incursions and by the innumerable insults heaped upon them, the militia, in common with their brethren in various parts of the State adjoining the Hudson, Newark Bay and below, organized little expeditions of reprisal on their own account. Various stories have been handed down concerning the prowess of local characters, but none of them is preserved with sufficient clearness and reliability to warrant publication here. Newark was during the greater part of the war a station on a kind of "underground railway," where prisoners escaping from the prison ships in New York harbor and from the Sugar House prison in New York were harbored and passed on at favorable times to safer regions. One marvels at times that the people of Newark and Essex County, living, one might say, almost under the very guns of the enemy, maintained the stalwart resistance to oppres-



A SKIRMISH AT MARKET AND BROAD STREETS, WITH A 1913 BACKGROUND
From a drawing made by Edwin S. Fancher for the Newark Sunday Call

sion that they did, especially when we remember that throughout the whole neighborhood were many Tory sympathizers who, while maintaining an outward attitude of inoffensive neutrality, in order to protect their property from confiscation, were constantly furnishing information to the enemy.

On more than one of these forays the British sought to capture Dominie Macwhorter of the First Presbyterian church, whose house, when he was at home during those long seven years of war, was guarded to prevent his being surprised. The British would have been more jubilant had they landed him safely in prison than over the taking of a battalion of the Continental line.

With each succeeding descent upon this region the enemy showed more ferocity and at the same time increasing caution. They were continually feeling their way towards the interior, seeking for the best means to get to Morristown and seize the powder works and the stores which Washington had accumulated there.

CONNECTICUT FARMS, JUNE 7, 1780.

Their most ambitious attempt was made in June, 1780, when two dashes were made from Elizabethtown as a base, in the direction of Short Hills, on the seventh and the twenty-third. We know these engagements today as Connecticut Farms * and the last battle of Springfield. Although little more than skirmishes, when one considers the actual numbers engaged and the total of casualties, they were of far-reaching importance, since they served to rouse the Jersey fighting spirit to the highest point reached during the entire war, and gave a new impulse and fresh encouragement to the army as a whole.

KNYPHAUSEN'S BLUNDERS.

General Knyphausen, the Hessian officer left in command of the British forces in New York, when General Clinton moved south early in 1780, planned this expedition, and from all accounts he was

* In Union County, known as the town of Union. Four miles northwest of Elizabeth. The place was settled about 1687, chiefly by English from Connecticut.

led into it by the Tories, who assured him that the people throughout all this region were weary of the war and only awaiting his coming to flock to his standards. He appears to have been convinced that the Jersey militia, at least, would throw down their arms at his approach and that large numbers of the soldiers in the line regiments (who, to tell the truth, were now mutinous because they had not been paid for many months and were forced to see recruits coming to the colors with far greater inducements extended to them than had been offered the veterans at the time of their enlistment) would likewise become disaffected. But Knyphausen was fearfully mistaken.

He showed even greater inability to comprehend the attitude and temper of the people than the British officers. Added to this he permitted fiendish outrages on the part of his troops at the first engagement, at Connecticut Farms, rousing the militia in particular to the frenzy of desperation. The crowning act of brutality was the barbarous murder of the wife of the "fighting parson," the Rev. James Caldwell.* The militia had flocked from every direction upon the arrival of the enemy at Elizabethtown, and had stubbornly opposed the advance to Connecticut Farms. The inhuman killing of Mrs. Caldwell left them wild for revenge, and at Springfield they fought as they had never fought before, winning glowing words of praise from Washington himself and from Major General Greene, who was in command of all the forces in and near Springfield.

THE MURDER OF MRS. CALDWELL AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE PEOPLE.

This account of the Connecticut Farms affair, graphically yet tersely given in the New Jersey Journal a few days afterward, needs little amplification:

"Chatham, June 14—Last night sennight, between 11 and 12 o'clock, a body of the enemy commanded by General Knyphausen in person landed at Elizabeth Town Point, who being timely discov-

* Mr. Caldwell was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown which was burned by the British in January of the same year. He had removed his family to Connecticut Farms when Knyphausen landed at Elizabethtown Point.

ered by our guards, gave the troops that were in town, commanded by Colonel Dayton, an opportunity to assemble; but, on reconnoitering them, our force was found inadequate for an attack, of course a retreat became indispensable, which was performed in good order, with the enemy in their rear, until they arrived at Connecticut Farms, where they fell in with the Jersey Brigade [Maxwell's], and being joined by a few militia, they posted themselves on an advantageous piece of ground, thinking it advisable to check the advance of the enemy, which, with singular bravery, they effectually did, and annoyed them considerably, driving them back some distance.

"They [the enemy] brought up some field pieces, which played briskly but happily without any effect. Our people kept them there two hours, until they were reinforced by the second division, which had landed some time after the first, and had marched up hastily.

"The enemy then gained that ground, though not without considerable loss on their side, and some wounded on ours. Their advance after that was very tardy, yet they seemed to show an inclination to possess themselves of Springfield until we gave them a few shot from a piece of cannon, not without some effect, which obliged them again to retreat, and the day was spent in continual skirmishing by which the enemy suffered amazingly, we having, since their retreat, found forty or fifty of their dead, which they had secretly buried. * * * "

The Journal now describes the high-handed and altogether heartless procedure of the Hessians and such British as were with them. This vivid account was the last touch needed to rouse all upper New Jersey to a state bordering upon frenzy. It is as follows:

"As soon as they came to Connecticut Farms, seven miles from the place of their landing, they began the exercise of their awful cruelty. They first set fire to the house of Deacon Wade, and then to the Presbyterian Church; but soon advancing to the house of the Rev. Mr. Caldwell, they had opportunity of reaching the summit of that cruelty after which they have been climbing for so many years. Mr. Caldwell could not remove all his property, nor all his family. His amiable wife with a babe of eight months, and one of three years old, with the housekeeper and a little maid, were left.

"Mrs. Caldwell having dressed and put her house in order, retired with those into a back room which was so situated that she was entirely secured against transient shot from either party, should they dispute that ground, which happened not to be the case.

The babe was in the arms of the housekeeper, the other child the mother held by the hand, all sitting upon the side of the bed, when one of the barbarians advancing around the house, took advantage of a small space through which the room was accessable, and fired two balls into that amiable lady, so well directed that they ended her life in a moment.

"This horrid deed appears the more cruel in the eyes of all who knew the lovely person, the sweet temper and the not only inoffensive but benevolent life of that dear mother of nine children now living, the oldest of which is but just turned sixteen.

"From some circumstances this appears not to have been the act of one rash, inconsiderate villain, but the effect of deliberate orders given previous to their coming to the place, that she should be murdered. She was stripped of part of her clothes, but her corpse was preserved from the flames by two or three of the enemy whose humanity was not yet extinct. This was a murder without provocation, and most opposite to humanity; for although her husband has uniformly defended the American cause, yet he has not only avoided cruelty himself, but used his utmost endeavors to prevent it being done by others; and as to herself, one would have thought her sweet appearance, and amiable life, would have protected her from even British or Tory cruelty. Not satiated by this horrid deed, after stripping the house, they set fire to it and eleven more dwelling houses in the neighborhood, with the outhouses, etc.

"Thus has British cruelty been led to perfection by the hiring of Hesse. Six widows are burnt out; some very aged and others with small families; and almost all the houses in the neighborhood which were not burnt, were torn to pieces and entirely plundered.

"Consider Americans! what you have to expect from such enemies, and what you have to do. If the tribes of Israel rose as one man to revenge the cruelty offered an individual, of no good character, (Judges XIX) what ought to be our conduct when the fairest innocence is no protection; when the condition of widowhood attended with age, or of a large offspring, is no defence.

"The militia on this occasion turned out more expeditiously and fought more bravely than ever known before. In the night the enemy retired to Elizabeth Town Point, where they were followed by the militia and a detachment from the army, who bravely attacked their advanced parties, and took about twenty prisoners on this occasion.

"From what we can collect from the inhabitants of the Farms, many of whose houses were filled with the wounded, they must have suffered considerably.

"Their brutality to some women in the Farms would have made even savages blush; and we are informed, from undoubted authority, that the same line of conduct has been pursued in Elizabeth Town toward some of their first characters.

"The loss sustained the first day, by the Jersey brigade, was 1 Ensign and six rank and file killed; 4 subalterns and 30 rank and file wounded, and 12 missing. * * * We have taken about fifty prisoners, and several deserters have come in."

AFTER THE BATTLE; STATEMENT OF A CONTINENTAL OFFICER.

The following extract from a letter written by a Continental officer of high rank from the camp at Springfield and dated June 13, published in the New Jersey Gazette, gives one a close personal touch with the affairs of the moment, so valuable in historical records:

"The British troops are now on the Point, below Elizabethtown; their flanks are secured by the water, which at present makes them unattackable. They advanced on their landing to Connecticut Farms, burning and pillaging; but on the appearance of our army, retreated under cover of a heavy shower of rain before midnight, and took their present position.

"The distress occasioned by their devastations is too shocking to reflect on; an American who could have beheld the scenes and not sworn vengeance against these savage enemies ought to have a mark set on him as a curse to the human race. * * *

"We proceeded, and came where they had burnt Mr. Caldwell's house after shooting his wife thro' a window as she was sitting on her bed, with a brace of balls; one entered her left breast, and the other her waist. I saw her corpse, and was informed by the neighbors it was with infinite pains they obtained leave to bring her body from the house before they set fire to it.' * * *

MILITIA FLOCK TO THE COLORS.

"I never saw soldiers pant for revenge more than ours do—not a deserter from us since we came to the ground, but all anxious for the happy hour when they shall receive orders to engage an enemy who has with coward violence only desolated the weak and unprotected.

"The militia universally flock in from all parts, and behave to admiration."

' Probably correct.

Another interesting letter written on June 15, from the American camp, contains this: "They [the British] are very angry at being deceived by the Tories, who assured them the militia would not fight, but join them." Still another writer said: "The militia behaved to a charm."

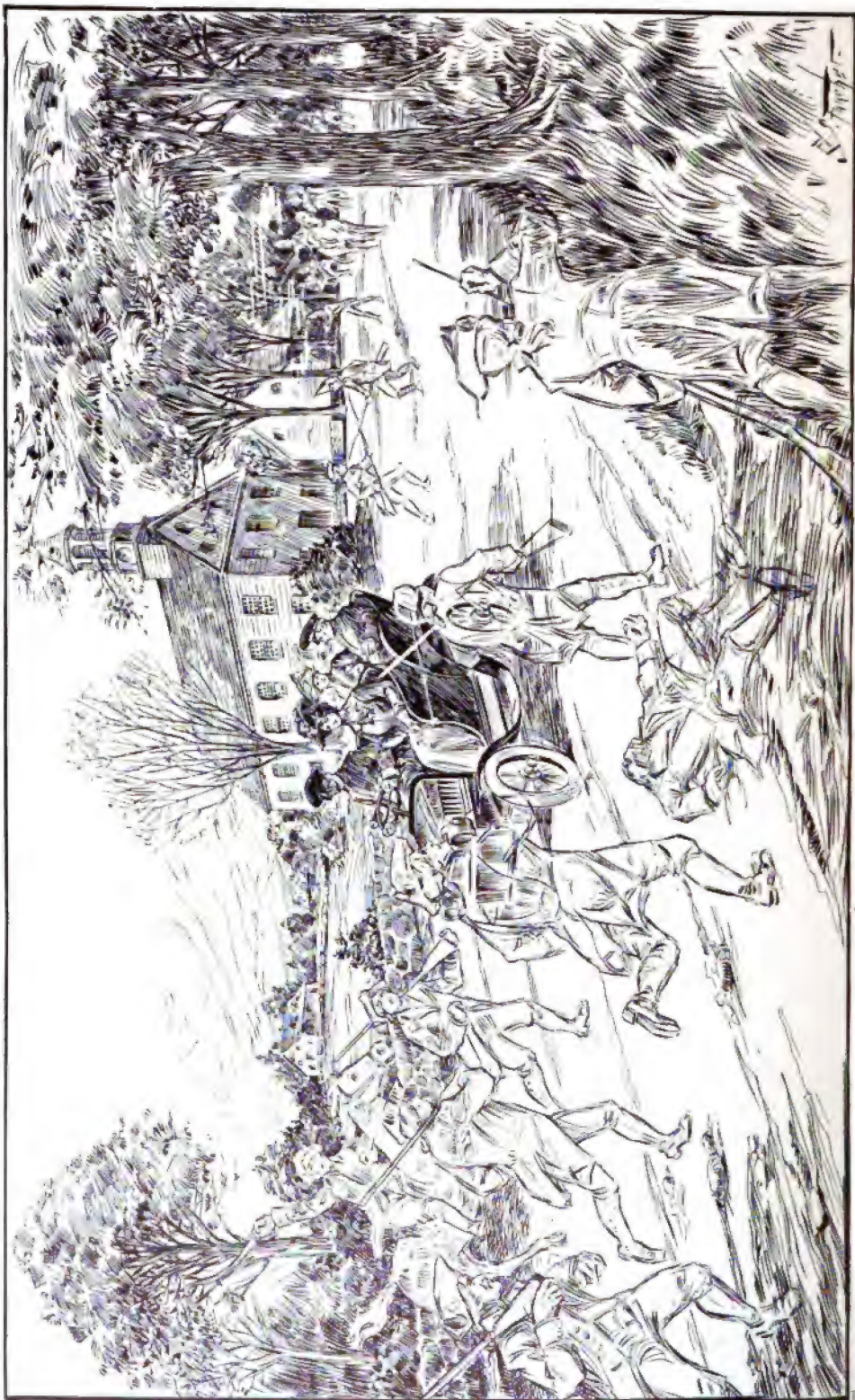
A BRITISH EXPLANATION.

The widespread outcry at the murder of Mrs. Caldwell caused the British in New York to attempt to escape the responsibility for it. A statement, signed "A British Officer," was published in Rivington's Royal Gazette, in which it was asserted that the parson's wife had been killed by a bullet from a "rebel's" gun, fired at random, as the Americans were retreating before the British. This was proven, it was contended, by the fact that the bullet entered the house from the west and not the east side. As a matter of fact, the house was put to the torch before anyone had time to examine the walls to locate the bullet hole, and subsequent examination of eye-witnesses made it certain that the murder was an outrage committed by one of the enemy. Parson Caldwell himself issued a public statement placing the blame upon the British in such clear and convincing words that it was never thereafter questioned.*

AMERICANS GREATLY OUTNUMBERED.

Knyphausen had landed at Elizabethtown Point with about five thousand men. On his retreat after the affair at Connecticut Farms he seems to have called for reinforcements, and when he started on his second expedition to Springfield his force was considerably

* In 1905 there was unveiled in front of the parsonage of the Presbyterian church at Union, a monument provided by the State, the inscription on which reads as follows: "Near this spot stood the parsonage in which Hannah Caldwell, wife of the Rev. James C. Caldwell, was killed by a British soldier, June 7, 1780." At the same time there was unveiled a tablet let into the front wall of the church at Union, with this legend: "Connecticut Farms. Here stood the Presbyterian church and here was fought the battle, June 7, 1780, between American forces under General Maxwell and Colonel Dayton and the British army on its advance to Springfield. * * * The British advance here formed into two columns and moved to Springfield where they were repulsed." This tablet was also supplied by the State.



MORRIS COUNTY TURNPIKE—THE SPRINGFIELD BATTLE ROAD, AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS NOW
From drawing made for the Newark Sunday Call by Edwin S. Fancher

augmented and included besides the infantry a strong body of cavalry and between ten and twenty cannon. The actual American force in New Jersey was about 3,000 effective Continental troops. The militia assembled at and near Springfield after the fighting at Connecticut Farms may have numbered as many more and this total was increased as the country became inflamed over the outrages at the Farms. General Clinton had now returned from the south and the British by this time had, at Elizabethtown and in New York, fully 12,000 men.

THE LAST BATTLE OF SPRINGFIELD.

General Clinton ordered a demonstration made on the Hudson in order to draw Washington away from Morristown and to leave the field comparatively free for Knyphausen's operations, and Washington immediately left headquarters, moving toward the Hudson, leaving Major General Greene to watch Knyphausen with about a thousand Continental troops and the militia. When Knyphausen left Elizabethtown early on the morning of June 23, Greene had made his dispositions to check him. The American commander saw to it that the Jersey militia bore most of the first shock of the attack, probably on the theory that the citizen soldiers, knowing that they were fighting for their own soil and homes, and still enraged at the cruelties and wanton destruction practised by the enemy on June 7, would prove particularly effective. He was not mistaken.

The main body of the enemy took the old King's highway through Connecticut Farms, the same upon which it had advanced in the previous encounter. This is the old Morris County Turnpike, although not over entirely the same ground as that which it occupies today, the old road being in some instances fully a mile further south than the present thoroughfare. Knyphausen went with this column. A second body, under General Matthews, took the old Vauxhall road, to the right. This road, like the turnpike, is today preserved only in part. It left the turnpike near Connecticut Farms

and ran in winding fashion to a point southwest of Irvington and Hilton, whence it turned quite sharply to the left, toward Springfield.

Washington was quickly informed of what the British had on foot, and detached a brigade of Continentals from his command with instructions to move so as to strike Matthews' column on its right flank. Washington himself prepared to reinforce Greene by way of Short Hills, should that officer need his help. But in the meantime Major Lee had gone from Springfield to the left, to meet the British right column coming up the Vauxhall road, while Colonel Dayton and his regiment, composed very largely of Newark and Essex County men, had marched down the main road (Morris County turnpike) to hold back Knyphausen and the British left.

In the extreme advance was Colonel Angell and his regiment of Rhode Island men, among the best fighters in the entire Continental Army, and who suffered greater losses that day, according to one account, than all the rest of the army put together. With the American artillery and Angell's two hundred men facing them, the British left met its first check, at the bridge over the Rahway river. In the rear of this bridge Colonel Shreve and his regiment of the New Jersey Continental line (which, as we have already seen, passed one winter in Newark), guarded a second bridge.

Lee managed to reach a stream crossing the Vauxhall road where he could post his men to advantage ready to meet the British right, and soon after as the advancing force struck Lee, Knyphausen's van brought down the initial fire of the American guns at the first bridge on the main road. Colonel Angell held to his position with splendid stubbornness, despite the fact that the force in front outnumbered him many times over. He used his advantage of location to the utmost extremity, and after a full half hour, seeing that Knyphausen was moving to turn his left and surround him, the sturdy Rhode Islander withdrew, slowly and with composure, bringing away his wounded. Colonel Shreve and his command held their position until Angell had retired to Springfield and then followed. Lee held to his bridge on the Vauxhall road, the

American left, until in danger of being surrounded, when he, too, retired to Springfield. The entire American force was then withdrawn to the higher ground beyond the town of Springfield toward the Short Hills, and the British reduced the church and most of the houses to ashes.

STEADINESS OF THE JERSEY MILITIA.

The whole defense, from the bridge over the Rahway on the main road and that on the Vauxhall road, had been conducted with remarkable stubbornness, the militia moving with not the slightest semblance of the panicky uncertainty so depressingly familiar to Washington in some previous battles. The Americans simply fell slowly back before greater numbers, taking advantage of every favorable spot in the ground to send death into their enemies, giving General Greene plenty of time to withdraw his guns and to make a new disposition of his troops on the higher ground toward Short Hills, whither every man, from the commander down, hoped and prayed Knyphausen would follow them. Because of the spirit of the patriots, the British did not actually obtain control of the town of Springfield until late in the afternoon. Then, maddened at what were virtually reverses, since he was still, to all intents and purposes as far off from the "rebel" stronghold at Morristown as ever, the enemy vented his rage upon the few weak women and feeble old folk in the town and left it in flames.

THE BLOODY RETURN TO ELIZABETHTOWN.

"They possessed themselves of Springfield," said the New Jersey Journal in its issue of July 5, 1780, less than two weeks after the battle, "our army retreating to the Short Hills, where it was determined to give them the second addition, but from the specimen they had of our prowess at Springfield, old Knyp showed no inclination of advancing further, but savage-like, contented himself with burning that beautiful village; and under cover of the flames and smoke, endeavored to steal a retreat; but our people were so vigilant that they could not effect it unnoticed, when we pushed their rear hard and killed a number of them, some of which they carried off on their field pieces, which were well loaded with dead carcasses when they arrived at [Elizabeth] town.

"Had Mr. Knyphausen's temerity prompted him to advance to the Short Hills, we query if he would ever have led on another division of German boors to accomplish his satanic designs again.

"The inhabitants of Elizabethtown inform us that they counted eighteen wagon loads of dead and wounded, many of the former laid in the bottom and the latter upon them.

"Our loss on this occasion was trifling, considering the heavy fire we sustained from their musquetry and artillery. Colonel Angell's regiment of Rhode Islanders suffered near as much as the whole army besides." *

THE LAST BATTLE IN NEW JERSEY.

The American loss was given as 13 killed, 62 wounded and 9 missing. The British loss was never definitely known. Knyphausen arrived at Elizabethtown Point about midnight on the 24th. He retired to Staten Island immediately and his forces were off New Jersey soil shortly after daybreak on the 25th.

The British never again appeared in any force in this State. Springfield put a period to their melancholy work here. They realized that they would need a far larger army to take Morristown than they could assemble. Their withdrawal was also in part due to the rumors that a large fleet of the French allies was coming up the coast and the British commanders wished to concentrate in New York to meet an attack there or at Newport.

In the same issue of the New Jersey Journal in which the account of the conclusion of the battle of Springfield, already quoted from was given, appeared the following:

* The writer of these articles was probably the editor and owner of the Journal, Shepard Kollock. He enlisted in the artillery from Elizabethtown, in 1776, as first lieutenant, with Alexander Hamilton as his captain. In 1779 he was permitted to resign his commission on condition that he set up a newspaper in East Jersey to counteract the influence of pro-British papers in New York City. He started this paper, in February, 1779, at Chatham, now Morris County, and very materially aided the patriot cause. He suspended publication for a week at the time of Knyphausen's incursion, announcing in his paper afterward that this had been necessary in order to move his printing shop further into the hills. It is more than probable that he was in the thick of the fighting. After the war he moved his paper to New York and published it under a different name. Subsequently he revived the Journal and published it at Elizabeth.

WASHINGTON COMMENDS THE JERSEY MILITIA.

"Extract from General Orders, Springfield, June 22, 1780.—The Commander in Chief cannot leave this post without expressing the highest sense he entertains of the conduct and bravery of the officers and men of Maxwell's Brigade [New Jersey Continental Line], in annoying the enemy in their incursions of the 7th instant. Colonel Dayton merits particular thanks. He also with pleasure embraces the opportunity of testifying that the behaviour of the militia has been such as to do them signal honor and to entitle them to the warmest approbation. There never since the commencement of the contest appeared a more general ardour than animated all ranks on this occasion."

The above was issued by Washington as he was about to move toward the Hudson to investigate the British movement up that river. After the affair at Springfield Washington wrote of the New Jersey militia in a report to Congress: "They flew to arms universally and acted with a spirit equal to anything I have seen during the war."

Thus did the citizen soldiers of Newark, Essex and all the region of upper Jersey atone for their failures of 1776, when Washington used the highly uncomfortable adjective "infamous" in describing their conduct.

We may well believe that it was a time of intense excitement and strain for the people of Newark. Nearly every able-bodied man with real red blood in his veins must have shouldered his musket and made his way to Connecticut Farms and Springfield. The sounds of battle were clearly heard in Newark on those warm June days. All Newark knew that if the enemy had its way with the determined little force opposing it they might look for scenes of wantonness and bloodshed far surpassing anything to which they had been subjected so far during the war. Springfield was then reckoned as partly in the township of Newark and partly in Elizabeth. Essex County then extended to and included Chatham to the west, Plainfield and Rahway to the south; the Arthur Kill, Newark Bay and the Passaic on the east, and extended a little beyond Paterson on the north. These boundaries had been laid down in 1710 by an act of the Assembly.

The Springfield battle monument erected by the State in 1905, and which stands in front of the present Presbyterian church, which replaced that burned by the British, bears an inscription in part as follows:

"The first British advance stayed at the bridge, east of the village, June 7, 1780.¹⁰ * * * The Americans under General Greene on that day, near the stream west of the church, checked the enemy, who in their retreat burned the church and village.¹¹ From this church¹² Parson Caldwell took psalm books during the fight and flung them to the Americans for wadding, crying, 'Put Watts into 'em, boys!'"

There is a monument, bearing the figure of a minute man, in Elizabeth, erected by the State in the same year, 1905, whose tablet tells that General Sterling (a British officer) fell at the spot, fatally wounded on the morning of June 8, 1780, while accelerating the retreat of Knyphausen. A monument was also dedicated by the New Jersey Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Roselle Park, in the spring of 1913, to mark the British advance out of Elizabethtown in the Connecticut Farms affair.

¹⁰ There is a tradition that they were stopped, or materially hindered by Captain Eliakim Littell of Springfield and his sturdy little company of Essex militia, who served their two or three guns with great efficiency.

¹¹ Connecticut Farms.

¹² At Springfield.

CHAPTER XVI.
SUFFERINGS OF NEWARK LOYALISTS—A FEW OF
NEWARK'S PATRIOTS.

CHAPTER XVI.

SUFFERING OF NEWARK LOYALISTS—A FEW OF NEWARK'S PATRONS.

THE case of the Newark loyalists has never been adequately presented; that is, from a purely dispassionate standpoint. Many of them suffered grievously for principle. Forty or fifty years ago (1865-1875) there were still living in this city a few old persons who still declared their loyalty to Great Britain, holding dear their devotion to the crown as an heirloom from their parents and others of their families who had conscientiously refused to espouse the cause of their fellow-Americans in the time of struggle. As has been said in a previous chapter, the lines circumscribing the two factions in which Newark was split at the time Trinity Episcopal Church was established, applied very closely in defining the opposing groups in the days when the War for Independence was first in the making, and later waged.

When the bedraggled and dispirited remnants of Washington's army left Newark on its further retreat across the State, in November, 1776, the Newark loyalists were jubilant. They were ready to receive Cornwallis's soldiers as their deliverers and hailed them as tangible proof-positive that the rebellion was practically over and that they had thus been vindicated in their loyalty. But the British treated them with scant courtesy; they rifled many of the Tory homes quite as readily as they did those of the Whigs. The loyalists' high spirits were swiftly dashed to the ground, and their real troubles began, when, after the return of Washington to the upper section of the State, they again found themselves in the hands of the patriot forces and helpless to protect themselves against the hardships inflicted upon them by their neighbors and by the officers of the new State government.

CONFISCATION OF TORY ESTATES.

Throughout New Jersey the Council of Safety, organized before the war began, appointed Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, whose chief duty was to take the regularly prescribed

measures for the confiscation and sale of the property of offensive loyalists. The Essex commissioners were: Joseph Hedden, jr., justice of the peace, (whose martyrdom is described in the preceding chapter); Samuel Hayes and Thomas Canfield.

These commissioners had to do a stern work and more than one patriot flinched from it and declined to serve when appointed. The law, the duties required and the methods employed have been clearly set forth by William Nelson of Paterson in a letter to the author, a part of which is as follows:

"Under the statutes it was made unlawful for persons to take up arms against New Jersey; it was unlawful for them to enter and remain within the lines of the enemy; it was unlawful for them to give active aid and comfort to the enemy. For any one of these offences they were liable to be indicted after six months' published notice that either of these offences was charged against them. After the lapse of the six months embraced in the notice they could be indicted in any county where they resided, or where they had real or personal property. Those persons owning property in Essex, Morris, Sussex, Hunterdon and Middlesex, could be indicted in each of these counties.

"Frequently, indictments were found in several counties against the same persons. Having been indicted by the Grand Jury of the county in which they owned real or personal property, they were tried in those counties, and upon conviction their property was declared forfeited to the State and then immediately taken possession of by the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates for the respective counties. These commissioners advertised the property in some newspaper circulating in the county in which the property was found, and after due advertisement the property was sold at public sale, and deeds were given to the purchasers, the proceeds of sale being turned into the treasury of the State. The State, however, realized but the merest trifles from these forced sales. There was always a question as to just what title was conveyed, and there were other considerations which restrained men from buying the property of their former neighbors. However, a large number of estates did pass into the hands of the buyers. Stevens Point, at Hoboken, for example, was owned by William Bayard. He took refuge within the lines of the enemy and his property was sold and passed into the hands of the Stevens family, about 1792.

"In many cases, I have no doubt, the law for the forfeiture of estates was evaded by transfer of such estates to friendly hands before the decree of forfeiture could be made. I have in mind the

title to a considerable tract, of fifteen or twenty acres or more, not far from the Erie Railroad station in Newark. A study of the title to this property and the surrounding circumstances all lead one to infer that the property was conveyed by the owner for the purpose of evading the consequences of the forfeiture acts, and that it was held practically in trust until after the war, and then was re-conveyed to the family of the former owner who had been a Tory during the Revolution.

"The profit to the State of these sales of the forfeited lands was so small that it has often provoked the query, 'Was it worth while'

"As I have noted above, the penalty of forfeiture was only incurred in case of active and actual siding with the enemy. A man could think as he pleased, but if he committed no overt act he was not liable under the statute.

"Many eminent citizens were suspected of Toryism, and in fact did not conceal their dissent from the active measures adopted by the Revolutionary patriots. They were known to sympathize with the enemy, but as they did not give active aid and comfort to the enemy, did not take refuge within the enemy's lines, and did not bear arms against the State, they were allowed to go unmolested, except on occasion that they might be lodged in the Morristown jail or some other jail for a brief detention.

"Altogether, these laws were very mild and were fully justified by the laws of Nations, as well as by the laws of common sense and self-protection."

Several of the prominent families left Newark for New York late in 1776 or early in 1777, and a few of their younger members joined one refugee corps or another. Many of these loyalists subsequently found their way to Nova Scotia, whither large numbers of Tories from the various colonies were transported by the British. After the war they were partially compensated for their losses by the British government.

JUDGE DAVID OGDEN, IRRECONCILABLE.

One of those who suffered most severely was Judge David Ogden, son of Colonel Josiah Ogden, whose harvesting of his grain on Sunday caused the split from the First Church, resulting in the founding of Trinity. In 1784 Judge Ogden filed a claim against the State of New Jersey, which, of course, was not satisfied. He

estimated his losses incurred because of his loyalty to the King as £20,265.84 1-7. He would never admit that the colonists had the slightest possible chance of winning their independence, until it was actually achieved.

He was appointed Chief Justice of the Province a little while before the people assumed control of affairs. He was made the agent of the New Jersey loyalists, after his removal to London, to prosecute their claims against New Jersey for compensation for their losses. So confident was he of the ultimate subjugation of the patriots that he devised a plan for the government of the colonies in America. He proposed a parliament, with a lower house composed of representatives of the people, not more than forty from each province, and with an upper house of barons, not more than twelve or less than eight from a colony. His plan includes the following significant paragraph:

"That the American parliament have the superintendence and government of the several colleges of North America, most of which have been the grand nurseries of the late rebellion, instilling into the tender minds of youth principles favorable to a republican and against a monarchical government, and other doctrines incompatible with the British constitution."¹

As Judge Ogden had lived most of his active years in Newark, he was more familiar with what is now Princeton than any other American college. He had seen it struggle into life in Elizabethtown and must have watched its growth during the eight years it was here in Newark. It is very safe to assume, therefore, that his ideas concerning the influence of the American institutions of learning upon the spread of the spirit of independence had been to a great extent moulded out of his observations in his home community, and certain it is that the men of Princeton were an ever-potent force in the Revolution from beginning to end.

We to-day can have no idea of the heartaches and bitterness engendered between the Newark Whigs and Tories, old neighbors, many of them, for half a century and longer. Many of the latter enrolled in regiments of their own kind to help suppress the rebel-

¹ See "The American Loyalists," by Lorenzo Sabine, pp. 476-77.

lion and felt, no doubt, that they were acting from just as high and as patriotic motives as their former fellow townsmen against whom they were now arrayed. The Tory refugee posts on Bergen Hill and at Staten Island were the objects of many a midnight attack, and on their part the refugees led not a few of the expeditions conducted by the British through this territory.

THE LONGWORTHS.

The following extract from an article in Hugh Gaine's New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury for July 7, 1777, gives a little glimpse of the "other side," although through a somewhat highly colored medium:

"A specimen of Rebel Humanity, experienced at Newark in New Jersey, by the Wives of Thomas Longworth, Isaac Longworth, Uzal Ward and some others, whose Husbands left that place last January, and took refuge in this city. The Committee of Newark ordered the wood to be cut off their land, their grass and hay to be destroyed, and their persons to be insulted, and they were not permitted to remain in the Province longer than Thursday, the 26th ult., when Guards were placed round their house and their effects secured by order of their titular Governor, William Livingston. To expostulate was needless, as the Guards told the women if they refused to obey, violence would be used. The cries of mothers, children and slaves, obliged to leave their Homes for differing in sentiment from their neighbours, would have excited pity in the breast of any but savages. The mandate must be obeyed. The wife of Mr. Thomas Longworth, having two young children to take care of, was favored with a straw bed. They all arrived here last Sunday week."

Isaac Longworth was one of Newark's most active and public-spirited citizens, and held several public offices in the years immediately preceding the war, including town clerk, surveyor of the highways and county collector. He was made a member of the Newark Committee of Correspondence on May 4, 1775, but soon changed his views and declared his allegiance to the king. He was one of fifty-five civilian loyalists, who, in July, 1783, petitioned for lands in Nova Scotia, as consideration of their services to the king. Thomas Longworth returned to Newark after the war and

died here in 1790, at the age of 72. His son, David Longworth, published the first New York City directory, in 1786, and his grandson was Nicholas Longworth, for many years a leading citizen of Cincinnati.* Ex-Congressman Nicholas Longworth is a lineal descendant.

THE REV. DR. ISAAC BROWNE.

The Rev. Dr. Isaac Browne, rector of Trinity Church, was another uncompromising loyalist. One account says that he left Newark with his infirm wife in such haste after the departure of Cornwallis from Newark, that he was forced to leave his furniture and other personal effects behind him, as was also the case with the Ogden family. Another story was that Rector Browne was detained in jail for a time before being permitted to join his family. According to an item in *Hugh Gaine's Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of New York for February 10, 1777, Dr. Browne wrote to Washington, asking leave to withdraw his family from Newark. "Instead of complying with the Doctor's wishes," says the newspaper, "he [Washington] sent a Party of his Rebels to drag him away to Morristown. He is now confined there in Jail, his Family is almost distracted, and all his Property seized. So much for the public faith of Mr. Washington."

Judge Ogden died at the age of ninety, at Whitestone, Long Island. Dr. Browne died in poverty in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in 1787.² An eloquent illustration of how families were divided in those troublous times is furnished by the fact that the Ogdens of Elizabeth, relatives of the Newark family, were staunch patriots, furnishing a number of valuable officers to the cause of the country.

* See New Jersey Archives, vol. 1, Second Series, pp. 419-420.

² In 1779 Dr. Browne wrote: "The condition of the Church in America is greatly to be pitied. The judgments of God fall very heavily on the inhabitants of this land in general, and seem to be yet increasing daily, and no prospect of redress that I can see, either from Heaven or men, for the inhabitants have not yet learned righteousness, and consequently remain very proper instruments to execute the Divine vengeance on one another." In the last letter which he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the

JONATHAN ODELL.

Of all the Tories who claimed Newark as their home, or birth-place, none was more fearless or determined in upholding the King than Jonathan Odell. He was born in Newark and was graduated from the College of New Jersey while it was here, in the class of 1754. For a time he was a surgeon in the British army. Later he took holy orders and became rector of St. Mary's Church at Burlington, N. J. During the turmoil immediately preceding the war, he expressed his detestation for the cause of the people so caustically that he was arrested and came under the ban of the Provincial Congress. He finally fled to the protection of the British troops and to New York. He was made chaplain of a corps of loyalist troops and was frequently called upon by the British officers to furnish information concerning New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He wrote many political denunciations of the patriots, and was to the Tories what Freneau, another Jerseyman, was to the cause of liberty. He attacked by name in his verses nearly every leading Jerseyman on the side of the people, even directing some of his most venomous lines against the head of his alma mater, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon. Odell never lost his hatred for the Continental cause. After the war he retired to Nova Scotia, living to an advanced age and unreconciled to the establishment of the United States of America to the end. Odell's mother was a daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, first president of the College of New Jersey.

DAUNTLESS NEWARK PATRIOTS.

There are no records or other data in existence from which a comprehensive narrative of the services rendered by individual Newarkers during the war can be compiled. The historian has to depend chiefly upon material gathered here and there, from family

Gospel in Foreign Parts, Oct. 4, 1782, he describes the loyalists as "daily suffering for the truth's sake, driven from their homes, their property seized, plundered and sold, and themselves consequently reduced to the most extreme poverty." He grieves that he is a "dead weight to the Society in consequence of age and infirmity." From "Historical Notes of the Missions of the Church of England in North America Previous to the Independence of the United States." London, 1845. Collated for this work by Miss Agnes Vinton Luther.

records, occasional letters, and a mass of stories which are usually distractingly vague and generally unsatisfactory and unreliable. The names of a few have come down to us, however, whose brilliancy time and neglect have not sufficed to obliterate. After that of Judge Joseph Hedden, jr., the martyr, there was no Newarker who proved more useful than Dr. William Burnet.

DR. WILLIAM BURNET.

He attended what is now Princeton College when it was located in Newark, studied medicine in New York and began his practise here. From the outbreak of the War for Independence, Dr. Burnet took a leading part in furthering the interests of the people against tyranny. He was made chairman of the Committee of Safety for Newark, and in the summer of 1776 gathered together a force of about three hundred militia for the assistance of Washington in New York. His private estate was very seriously depleted by British or Tories, and his large library was packed in casks and carried to New York by them. At another time fifty head of cattle belonging to Dr. Burnet were taken. He was one of three commissioners appointed for the State to issue bills of credit and to make purchases of arms and ammunition, and early in February, 1776, he was commissioned as surgeon of the Essex militia. He was a member of the National Congress for 1780-81 and at that time was commissioned as a hospital surgeon and physician of the army, and early in March, 1781, was made Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Hospital Department of the Eastern District, resigning his seat in Congress to take up this last work, which he continued throughout the remainder of the war. He was one of the prime movers for the establishment of a hospital in Newark in 1776, as described in a previous chapter.

He was at times a member of Washington's official family when the latter was guarding the Hudson, and one of his sons was authority for the statement that the father was dining with General Benedict Arnold at West Point when the capture of the spy, "James Anderson," (Major Andre) was announced to Arnold and the rest of the company. Dr. Burnet told his son that Arnold

preserved perfect composure, proceeding with the dinner as if the announcement was of no moment whatever. After a time Arnold excused himself, saying business of importance called him abroad and urging his companions to enjoy themselves until he should return. A little later he was being rowed rapidly away toward the British warship *Vulture* which lay at anchor some distance below West Point. After the war Dr. Burnet took up farming. His home was at the northeast corner of Broad and Chestnut streets. Later he bought six acres on the east side of Broad street, through which East Kinney street was subsequently run. Soon after the war he was made presiding judge of the Essex County Court of Common Pleas. He was president of the New Jersey Medical Society in 1766 and also in 1786. He was an excellent Latin scholar and when first made president of the Medical Society read an essay in Latin on the use of the lancet in surgery. He died at the age of sixty-one, in 1791.⁴ One of his sons, William Burnet, jr., who practised medicine with success in Belleville, was also a surgeon in the Continental Army.

One of Dr. Burnet's sons by his second marriage was David G. Burnet, or Burnett. He left college, presumably Princeton, before completing the course, and joined an expedition to free the South American Colonies from Spain. He led an adventurous life, finally identifying himself with a movement for the settlement of Texas, of which he became the first president. He was elected United States Senator from Texas after the Civil War, but was not admitted to a seat as the State had not yet been reconstructed. He had one child, a son, who was killed in the Confederate service. David G. Burnet died at Galveston, Texas, on December 5, 1870.⁵

CAPTAIN WILLIAM SANFORD PENNINGTON.

No character of the period in New Jersey fits in more perfectly with our conception of the typical "boy of 76" than that of William Sanford Pennington. Although warned by a rich uncle that if he

⁴ See Wickes' History of Medicine and of Medical Men in New Jersey.

⁵ See "Notes on the Burnet Family," by Thomas T. Kinney; Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc., vol 11, No. 2, Third Series, 1897.

took up with the "rebels" he would be cut off without a shilling, young Pennington, then scarcely nineteen, promptly enlisted in a company of Continental artillery. It is said of him that he proved so efficient that after an action during which General Knox, chief of artillery, noticed his coolness under fire, he was given a commission as first lieutenant, at Knox's solicitation. During the greater portion of the war he was stationed on or near the west bank of the Hudson. When the army marched south he went with it and was through the trying but glorious times that culminated in the fall of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis.

In January, 1781, six regiments of the Pennsylvania line mutinied and under the direction of non-commissioned officers, marched away from Morristown bent on presenting their grievances to Congress in person. They had not been paid for months, were galled at seeing others enlisted under much more favorable conditions than those accorded them, and their case was truly little short of intolerable. At Trenton they were met by a committee from Congress and by a thousand soldiers under St. Clair to oppose their crossing the Delaware. They were promised prompt pay and an immediate supply of certain specified articles of clothing, of which they were in desperate need; disarmed, and discharged the service. They were then asked to re-enlist with the same bounties offered recruits. They all returned to the service within three months and served most efficiently in the southern campaigns to the end of the war. The British commander in New York had been quickly informed of the defection of the Pennsylvania line by Tories and he sent three emissaries to induce them to join his colors. The mutineers angrily turned the emissaries over to General Anthony Wayne, who gave them a trial which ordered them hanged, and the mutineers assisted in carrying out that sentence.

No sooner was this difficulty adjusted than the three regiments of the New Jersey Continental line (Maxwell's Brigade) followed the example of the Pennsylvania regiments and suddenly left their camp at Pompton, under their sergeants, bound for Trenton. But Washington determined to put a stop to such irregular-

ities. How he did it is concisely told by young Lieutenant Pennington in his journal (would that more soldiers of the Revolution had kept diaries!) as follows:

"Monday 22nd [January, 1781], we received information that the Jersey line had followed the example of Pennsylvania in mutinying, in consequence of which a detachment of artillery, consisting of three 3-pounders, to be commanded by Captain Stewart, was ordered to parade immediately. I was ordered to join the above detachment, vice Alling.

"25th—This day the detachment marched to Smith's Cove, and halted for the night.

"26th—This day we marched to Ringwood and joined a detachment of Major General Howe.

"Saturday, 27th—This day the above detachment marched at one o'clock and at daylight surrounded the Jersey encampment near Pompton, where the mutineers were quartered. No other terms were offered to them but to immediately parade without their arms. General Howe likewise sent them word by Lieutenant Colonel Barber, that if they did not comply in five minutes he would put them all to the sword; rather than run the risk of which they surrendered. Upon this the General ordered a court martial in the field to try some of their leaders; three of whom, Grant, Tuttle and Gilmore, were sentenced to suffer death. Grant, for some circumstance in his behaviour, was pardoned. Tuttle and Gilmore were immediately executed. The mutineers returned to their duty and received a general pardon."

It was also Pennington's melancholy fortune to be present at the execution of Major Andre, or near the spot, as the following entry in his journal shows: "Monday 2nd October, 1780—This day at twelve o'clock, Major Andre, Adjutant General of the British army, was executed as a spy. He behaved with great fortitude. Although self-preservation and the laws and usages of nations justify, and policy dictates the procedure, yet I must conceive most of the officers of the army felt for the unfortunate gentleman."

But Lieutenant Pennington's diary does not always deal with the grim side of war, as we find from the following:

"Tuesday, December 26—This day I had the honor to dine at his excellency General Washington's table, and the pleasure of seeing for the first time, the celebrated Mrs. Washington. Instead of the usual subjects of great men's tables, such as the conquering the worlds and bringing the whole human race into subjection to

their will, or of the elegance of assemblies and balls, and the sublimity of taste in dress, etc., the simple but very laudable topic of agriculture was introduced by his excellency, who, I think, discussed the subject with a great degree of judgment and knowledge. The wine circulated with liberality, but the greatest degree of decorum was observed throughout the whole afternoon."

The stalwart young soldier was evidently a favorite with the ladies and whenever he was fortunate enough to get a furlough he seems to have hastened to his home in Newark for the enjoyment of their society. In October, 1780, he made one of these visits, and set down the following: "Wednesday, October 16, I spent the principal part of the day in Newark, visiting my female acquaintance in this place. The ladies in town, to do them justice, are a very sociable, agreeable set of beings, whose company serves to educate the mind, and in a manner to compensate the toils of military life."

Pennington took up the hatting business soon after his return to Newark upon the close of the war. Later he became active in mercantile lines. He embraced the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1802, within two years thereafter being made an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the State. He was one of the founders of the Republican, (afterward the Democratic) party, being a staunch supporter of Thomas Jefferson, and was Governor of New Jersey, 1812-1814.

MAJOR SAMUEL HAYES.

Major Samuel Hayes, besides serving upon a number of patriotic committees was in active service as major a good part of the time from 1776 to November, 1783. He was made prisoner in 1780. After the war he was for many years one of the leading figures in all patriotic demonstrations.

CALEB BRUEN.

Throughout the entire war Washington was rendered invaluable service by spies, men of steel nerves, carrying their lives in their hands every hour in the twenty-four for days at a time. One of these who chose to risk going down to oblivion by means of the noose or the bullets of a file of soldiers, in order to best serve his

country, was Caleb Bruen of Newark. He possessed Washington's confidence, and risked the gallows many times. At the time of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line the British made use of Bruen to carry messages to the ringleaders at Morristown, as he had led them to believe he was devoted to the cause of the Crown. Bruen turned over a parcel of papers entrusted to him for the mutineers, to Washington. Later the British, having grown suspicious of him, arrested him while he was within their lines and put him in the Sugar House prison. He was brought home at the end of the war little better than an imbecile as a result of the awful hardships and privations he endured. He afterwards recovered and lived to a ripe old age.

THE CAMP FAMILY.

It was Captain Nathaniel Camp to whom, as told in a previous chapter, Washington presented the cannon that now bears the name of "Old Nat" and which stands among the other antiquated ordnance on the lawn at Washington's headquarters in Morristown. Capt. Camp was an officer in an artillery company, but just what service he rendered is not known. He was very properly proud of the fact that he had the honor of entertaining Washington in his own home at Camp and Broad streets and long after the war used to show people the buttonwood tree in front of his home, to which the General tied his horse. He even remembered that Washington ate the ham and eggs offered him on the occasion of one visit, with great relish. The very chair the distinguished guest occupied is still preserved.

William Camp, brother of Nathaniel, was a merchant and one of Newark's leading citizens at the outbreak of the war, but because of his aggressive patriotism was lodged in the Sugar House at New York, in 1776, dying there the next year. Captain Camp brought his body to Newark under a flag of truce, where it was laid to rest in the Old Burying Ground.

Caleb Camp, a third brother, was also an active patriot, and survived the war many years. John Camp, a nephew of Captain Nathaniel, was killed in action in Georgia.

CAPTAIN ELIAKIM LITTELL.

Captain Eliakim Littell rendered most efficient service as a leader of bodies of militia in dashes upon the enemy when it was in Essex County. He raised a company which the ladies of Newark outfitted with uniforms of frocks and pantaloons dyed blue. They were called the "Jersey Blues," thus helping to perpetuate the name made famous by Peter Schuyler and his men in the French and Indian wars. Littell and his men are believed to have captured a considerable number of Hessians in their various expeditions. The British put a price on Littell's head, and made several desperate attempts to get him, but failed. Littell and his men were conspicuously active at the time of Knyphausen's expeditions to Connecticut Farms and Springfield. He was regarded as one of the most courageous and efficient of Newark's militant patriots, for although he was a resident of Springfield, that place was at that time a part of Newark. At the opening of the war he was a well-to-do farmer; at its close he was impoverished. Later he played a gallant part in St. Clair's punitive expedition against the Miami Indians.

LIEUTENANT CONGER, CAPTAIN WHEELER, JOSIAH BEACH,
CAPTAIN HOLDEN, LIEUT.-COLONEL CUMMING.

Lieutenant Samuel Conger served with faithfulness and courage. After the war he returned to his trade, that of a weaver. When asked if he wanted a pension, he is said to have answered: "No; I want no pension—at least not as long as I can shoot a shuttle."

In the summer of 1776 Captain Caleb Wheeler completed what for the time was a most imposing mansion, setting a little back from the northeast corner of what are now Market and Mulberry streets. It had taken seven years to build, and there are said to be vestiges of it still in the tangle of buildings at the rear of those that now [1913] occupy the front. The house was a place of refuge for many a patriot seeking to escape the British who visited it more than once and who carried off many household and other articles, and committed acts of vandalism. On one occasion Captain Wheeler

had to leave his house in a hurry and hide in his haymow, first concealing his wife and family in a place he had prepared for such emergencies in the house. The British searched the hay and Camp could hear them swearing vengeance if they found him, as they plunged their bayonets into the hay. His clothing was pierced, but he escaped uninjured, and later found his family in safety, also. A neighbor of the name of Williams, and who had warned Wheeler of the approach of the enemy before retiring to his own hiding place, was found and shot dead. A French officer who had engaged to serve with the British, found his way to Captain Wheeler's house, where he announced that he could not permit himself to fight against the Americans, now that he had come to understand them and the nobility of their cause. He was sheltered for a few days until he could make his escape to France.

Josiah Beach was killed in action at Scotch Plains, in 1777.

Joseph Crane was mortally wounded in a skirmish on the shore of Newark Bay.

Captain Levi Holden was a Massachusetts youth who found himself mewed up in Boston when General Gage occupied it. He managed to escape and when a little distance out of the city came upon a British officer, mounted. He took the officer prisoner, appropriated the horse and let its rider go free. Holden then raised a company of young men of his neighborhood who fought under him throughout the entire war. Although his name is set down in the official roster of New Jersey troops as from Essex County, his descendants have stated that Holden did not take up his residence in Newark until about 1800. He is said to have been a member of Washington's bodyguard at one time. He died in 1825 and was buried in Trinity church cemetery.

Lieut.-Colonel John Noble Cumming was another shining light in the struggle against tyranny, who did not make his home in Newark until after the war was over. He was born in Monmouth county and his half sister was the wife of Newark's militant pastor, the Rev. Dr. Macwhorter. Cumming was graduated from Princeton

in 1774, and entered the service with the second establishment, New Jersey Continental Line, in 1775, as a private, leaving it at the close with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He married a daughter of Joseph Hedden, the Newark martyr. He was one of Newark's most active and progressive citizens, being a public-spirited promoter of many of its earliest financial and commercial enterprises and deeply concerned in all measures for the advancement of the general good of the community.

Rev. Dr. Alexander Macwhorter, whose services throughout the greater part of the war were of incalculable value, is frequently noticed in other chapters.

CHAPTER XVII.

**THE FIRST BRIDGE—NEWARK AS TRAVELERS SAW IT,
1679-1800—ERA OF THE STAGE COACH.**

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FIRST BRIDGE—NEWARK AS TRAVELERS SAW IT, 1679-1800—ERA OF THE STAGE COACH.

WITH the end of the War for Independence came the beginnings of an entirely new order of things for Newark. The smiling village, so pitilessly scarred by war, was to blossom forth for awhile in new and radiant beauty, and then, gradually, with scarcely perceptible transition at first, was to take on the more or less monotonous and unattractive attributes of the industrial town. Long, long ago, the village slipped well nigh unnoticed into the town, and long ago it became a city, forgetting for the most part during these processes that there is something more in life than toil. It is our great privilege to-day to see Newark advancing upon the third stage, to be a part of its making into the Greater Newark, the city that it is now striving to become in the broadest and most modern sense, comfortable and attractive to live in as well as useful.

For the better part of a century Newark seems to have forgotten well nigh everything but moral and industrial advancement. Its skill at manufactures, its zeal for temporal gain, caused it to focus its eyes upon these ends. It utilized the talents handed down from the days of Robert Treat; it saw that the founders had built with masterful far-sightedness, and it seized upon some of the advantages with a strenuous enthusiasm that has made the mighty Newark of to-day possible. It obeyed the trend of its time, as we of to-day and those coming immediately after shall obey ours. Its people made the city rich and powerful; we shall make it beautiful and masterful.

The war had dealt Newark and all Essex County staggering blows, as indeed was the case throughout the length and breadth of the inhabited country. Newark, a farming village, had perforce neglected agriculture and the farms were in a sad state of disrepair. Neither Newark nor the county had any industries really worthy of the name. Newark's means of communication with the outside

world were crude and grossly inadequate. Could it have remained thus in a state of semi-isolation little change would perhaps have been necessary; it could have continued smiling and drowsing on the hillsides to the end of time. But the superb location given it by the founders made that impossible; and what is more, the men of Newark at the close of the War for Independence were not of the sort who could moulder their lives away. Their days had been too full of action for the previous seven or eight years to return to the simple methods of their forebears. There were things to be done, and the men of Newark were ready and able to do them.

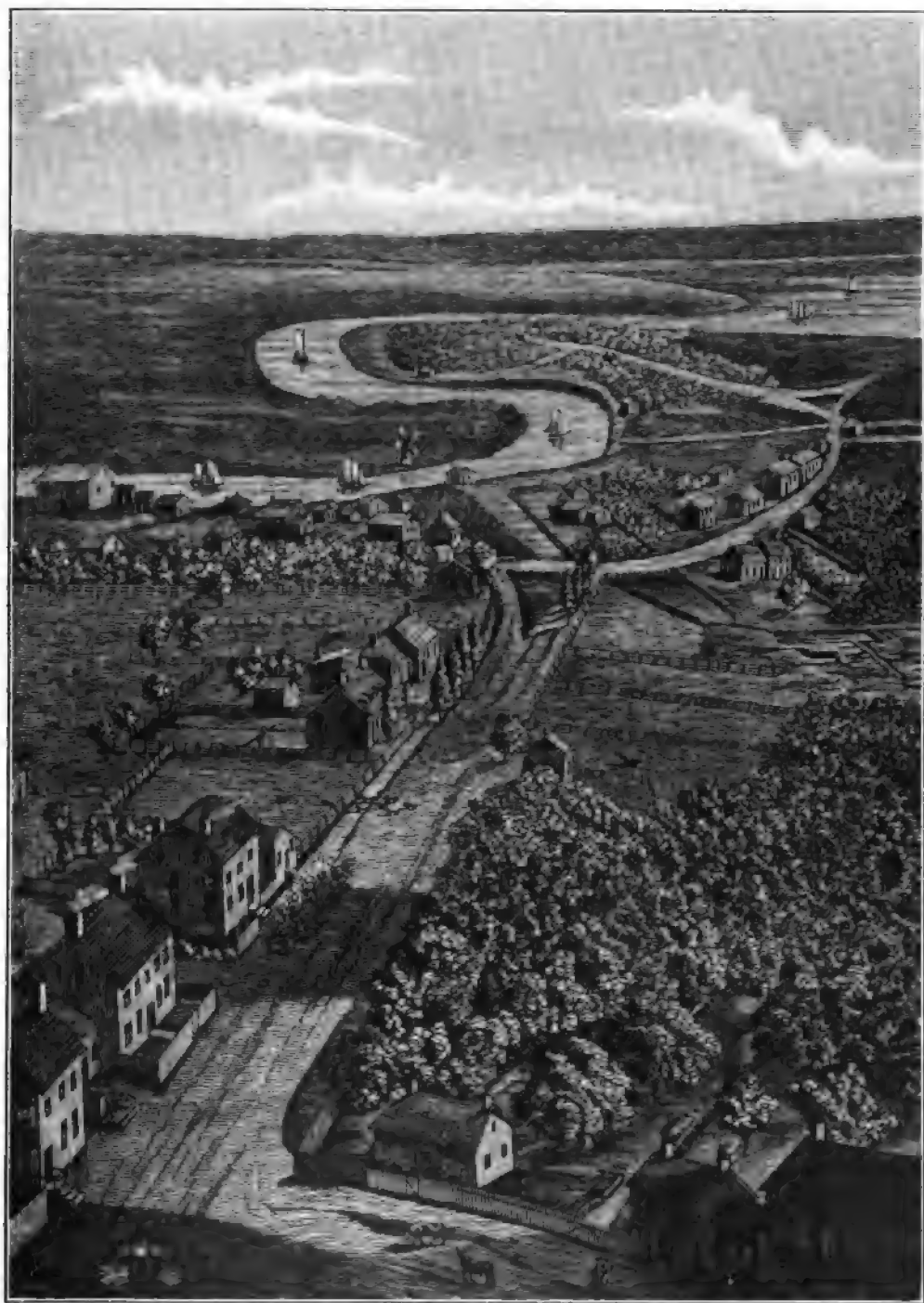
It is a most significant fact that when you search the records of this city for the quarter of a century immediately following the War for Independence, the men who stood staunchly for the cause of freedom throughout the trying time, were constantly in the lead among the upbuilders of the new community.

DEMORALIZED BY THE WAR.

From 1783 until about 1790, little is heard of Newark in the newspaper and other prints of the time. The village was busy pulling herself together. It was demoralized, as was natural enough for a village in the path of contending armies and upon the edge of territory held by its enemies. The moral tone of the community was at a low ebb and Pastor Macwhorter set vigorously at work to bring back his flock to higher ideals of living. On one occasion in 1784, a visiting clergyman, after denouncing the vices and frivolities of the time, spoke directly from the pulpit to the young people in the congregation, crying out: "And will you go dancing to Hell?" This fiery question and the discourse preceding it are said to have had salutary effect. Praying circles and conference meetings were organized and altogether, "an almost universal reformation of outward habits was effected."¹

Peace was declared on April 19, 1783. For that year the Town Meeting voted to raise £350 "for the poor for the ensuing year." In 1782 but £150 had been required for that purpose, and in 1781, £100. This destitution was a more or less direct outcome of the war.

¹ Atkinson's History of Newark, p. 136.



VIEW OF MARKET STREET, EAST OF BROAD STREET, 1790

TOWN MEETING GOVERNMENT CONTINUED.

For a little more than fifty years Newark had governed its affairs by annual town meetings, held in March, instead of occasionally throughout the year, as had previously been the custom from the days of the founders. These yearly meetings were held throughout the War for Independence and the minutes are preserved, all except those of March, 1780, which are believed to have been destroyed during the war.

The routine business of the town was attended to with perfect steadiness, according to the minutes for those years of the war that are preserved. Indeed, from reading them one could never know that people were engaged in a bitter fight for their independence. These annual town meetings were continued until 1833, becoming more and more perfunctory each year. In 1833 the township of Newark was divided into four wards, in order to better facilitate the handling of business. One cannot but be amused at the otherwise dull and formal reports of these gatherings, conducted solemnly, on down through the years, disposing of all business which was considered the town's business, in precisely the same fashion as that made use of by the forefathers of the hamlet, while the actual growth and development of the town was being managed by private companies, usually raising the money for each new enterprise on stock and embarking in each undertaking quite as much from patriotic and public-spirited motives as for private gain, and indeed for many years with very little profit.

To have proposed taxes sufficient to meet the needs of the awakening community would have brought on something little short of a riot. The people were sick of the very talk of taxes. They had fought Great Britain to get rid of unjust taxation, and it seems to have been impossible for them in the years immediately following the war, to have discriminated clearly between just and unjust levies; they were prejudiced against taxation in all forms. At the same time they were quite content for the new works to proceed in the hands of private organizations of citizens, the stockholders to reap such benefits as might accrue. Occasionally, when the

promoters of a new and virtually a public, enterprise, were in need of capital, they were permitted to hold a lottery.

THE FIRST POSTMASTERS.*

Newark had a post office, at least a Post, during the War, as the following announcement made in April, 1778, will explain: "This is to certify to the Publick that the Newark Post will not carry letters unless they are paid for it, except letters from the subscribers for this paper to the Printer. John Hedden, Alexander Anderson." The paper in question was the New Jersey Gazette, New Jersey's first printed newspaper. The newspapers employed post riders to deliver their sheets, and these riders eked out their incomes by carrying letters for those who would pay them. There was no reliable postal system other than this. The post riders just mentioned made another announcement a little later in the same year, which further illustrates the methods employed for carrying newspapers and such other mail as was offered, during the war:

"The Publick will please take notice, that we, the subscribers, have rode post four months, and undertook to carry the New-Jersey Gazette to the subscribers in Essex county, and other places, at our own risque, not knowing when we undertook the business, what we should be able to ride for: We can, however, now assure the Publick, that we carry the papers as cheap as we can afford: Wherefore the subscribers in Princeton are to pay us one dollar per annum; in Brunswick and Quibbletown, [Newmarket], twelve shillings; and in Essex County, two dollars. And we desire that those who have not advanced any money for us, would please pay one half of their rate to those gentlemen who have taken in the subscription for said paper, as we are a great deal out of pocket, and travelling expenses are very heavy." One of the chief "risques" of these sturdy precursors of the rural free delivery was the chance they took of being gobbled up by any detachment of British that

* See end of chapter for list of Newark's postmasters.

might happen along, and whose horses were faster than theirs. The Gazette was published, at that time, in Burlington. It was issued weekly.

The first postmaster in Newark was John Burnet, a son of Dr. William Burnet, who was one of the town's most efficient patriots during the war. His son was appointed postmaster in 1790, three years after the adoption of the federal constitution, previous to which time the States had been very loosely joined and all nation-wide development in a more or less nebulous condition. It is easy to imagine that Dr. Burnet procured his son's appointment from Washington, since the father was well known to the first President, and thus a system of patronage in the appointment of postmasters was, so far as Newark was concerned, inaugurated. John Burnet's post office was located in his store on the southeast corner of Market and Broad streets, a part of the home lot of Captain Robert Treat, and the site of the present Kinney building.

Burnet's term ended in 1804, for he was succeeded by Matthias Day, the appointment being made by Thomas Jefferson. Newark was now a strong Republican (then Democratic) town and Day was of that stalwart young party, while the Burnets were Federalists. Day^{*} set up his office on what is now the north corner of Broad and Mechanic streets and immediately issued this notice:

"No credit will be given on letter postage after this date. * * Letters will be received and forwarded for the Southern mail every day (Sundays excepted) until half past two in the afternoon; and for the Northern mail until eight o'clock at night, at which hour the office will be closed during the winter months." Postmaster Day continued in office for nearly thirty years, surviving every administration. In the latter years of his regime his office was about where Centre Market now stands. In due process of time Day had to go, and he took it very much to heart when President Andrew Jackson ousted him, in 1833. That enterprising old soldier was a firm believer in "to the victor belongs the spoils," and many

^{*} Day was one of the editors of the State Gazette in Trenton during the War for Independence not long before his appointment.

fell beneath his trusty sabre. Postmaster Day at once issued a card to explain that his dismissal could not be in the slightest measure due to any lack of efficiency on his part. He gave a tabulated list of his average personal income from the office during his incumbency, in five year periods, which is exceedingly instructive: 1804-'09, \$492.20; 1809-'14, \$569.31; 1814-'19, \$611.83; 1819-'24, \$707.80; 1824-'29, \$871.25; 1829-'33, \$1,317.43.

This list shows plainly enough the comparatively slow growth of Newark's postal business for a quarter of a century, but is not to be taken as a criterion of the growth of the community's population, which was during a large part of that period very rapid for the standards of the time. The people were still to a considerable extent farming folk and the manufacturers were not as yet doing a business that required much correspondence. Postmaster Day went on to explain that during the last year of his service the receipts had increased so rapidly as to make his percentage \$1,591.86. This would not be considered a princely salary, but Day further explains: "When from this the expenses of rent, clerk hire, fuel, lights, stationery, etc., be deducted, it will be seen that only for a few years past has the office yielded a fair compensation for the service performed, and only during that period has there been any effort to apply to it the principle of 'rotation in office'." He thanks his friends for using their influence to keep him in office, "even though in vain."

PROSPERITY STARTS WITH THE BRIDGES.

The news of the battles of Concord and Lexington was carried through New Jersey and on to Philadelphia and the south, by despatch riders, starting at Elizabethtown, being ferried over from New York. Had there been bridges over the Hackensack and Passaic rivers, the course would have been across the Bergen hills, over the Hackensack, across the marshes and over the Passaic to Newark, and so on down through Elizabethtown. Newark showed no appreciable signs of growth until the first bridge over the Hackensack, about where the old Schuyler ferry was, and another across the Passaic at what is now Bridge street, were erected. Perhaps

nothing in Newark's history has had so immediate and potent an influence for development as the erection of those two bridges.

Agitation for the bridges began very shortly after the war. A turnpike company was formed to build them and the road across the meadows between. One of the members was the rector of Trinity Church, the Rev. Uzal Ogden. In order to raise funds a lottery was arranged by permission of the Legislature, and the drawing held in Newark on July 6 and 13, 1791. Sayres Crane, of Newark, won the highest prize, \$5,000. In those days Newarkers were not at all afraid to employ skilled workers from without their borders, and in May, 1793, they hired an expert, Josiah Nottage, who had a short time before built a bridge over the Charles River from Boston to Cambridge. Late in September of the same year there appeared the following advertisement: "Wanted immediately, twenty carpenters and a number of laborers, to work at the bridges building over the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. Cash will be paid for their services weekly or oftener if required. Apply to Mr. Josiah Nottage, Esq., or Mr. William Mills, at the bridge at Newark. Proposals addressed to Mr. Philip Kearny in said town will be received until the 10th of next month, for the delivery of five hundred ton of stone from Snake Hill at the bridge building at Hackensack river."

The bridges were opened in 1794⁴ and the toll list, announced the next year, was as follows: Single person, 2 cents; man and horse, 4 cents; sulky and horse (one person), 8 cents; chariot and poste chaise or phaeton, 2 horses, 12 cents; horned cattle or horses, 2 cents each; calf, 1 cent; sheep and hogs, per dozen, 6 cents." The building of the Newark bridge cost at least one life, as a workman, Ephraim Young, of Morris County, was killed there.

⁴ The present bridge is the third, the original being removed to give place to a wider and more suitable structure somewhere between 1840 and 1850. The second bridge was taken over by the county authorities in 1871, the sum of \$27,000 being paid to the turnpike company. This bridge was patched up year after year, and in 1911 it was decided to remove it. This was done in 1912 and 1913, when it was found that the centre pier was so substantially built that it had to be blown out by dynamite. The third bridge was completed late in 1913.

There were many misgivings and shakings of heads when this work was begun. It was feared by many that the bridges would interfere with navigation, and it was also solemnly asserted that these structures would so obstruct the flow of water in times of freshets as to do serious damage. The new artery of travel was a tremendous success, of course, and the very next year, a bridge over the Passaic at Belleville, on the site of the present structure, was begun. It cost about \$6,000.

TRAVELER WANSEY'S ACCOUNT.

The Newark bridge was looked upon as something little short of a marvel, and the rude road laid down between the two rivers was spoken of by a French traveler in 1796 in the most enthusiastic terms as a remarkable work of American industry and resourcefulness which European peoples might well strive to emulate. One traveler, Henry Wansey, an Englishman, visited the village just before the bridge was built, and before completing his visit to America came again, the bridge then being in commission. Here is his narrative in which it is noticeable that he, in common with all other strangers, could not refrain from mentioning the mosquitoes:

"All the way to Newark [from the Hackensack] is a very flat, marshy country, intersected with rivers, many cedar swamps, abounding with musketos, which bit our legs and hands exceedingly; where they fix, they will continue sucking your blood, if not disturbed, till they swell to four times their ordinary size, when they burst from their fulness."^a

THE DOMESTIC SERVANT PROBLEM IN 1794.

Wansey then describes how they "crossed the Passaic in a scoul, by means of pulling a rope fastened on the opposite side. We now came to Newark to breakfast, a pleasant little country town." On his way to the village in the coach he entered into conversation with a Newark lady, who "informed me that the worse circum-

^a "An Excursion to the United States," 1794. Henry Wansey, F. A. S.

stance of living at Newark, was the difficulty of getting domestic servants; they will only agree by the month at very high wages of eight and ten dollars. The white servants generally stipulate that they shall sit at table with their masters and mistresses. * * * Cultivated land here lets for from thirty-six shillings to three pounds per acre."

Concerning his second and last visit to Newark Wansey wrote: "We then came to Newark, about five in the evening. The weather had been uncommonly hot, and I felt myself so uncomfortable that I was glad here to quit the stage and stay till the next day. I opened my portmanteau and changed myself, and having now got a comfortable dish of tea, with plenty of good cream, at the Hounds and Horn, kept by Archer Gifford, I was so well refreshed as to walk over every part of the Town: the streets of which are very wide, with the houses separated from each other by gardens and outlets.

REAL ESTATE VALUES IN 1794.

"It is so increased as to have doubled its inhabitants within the last ten years, and the land has risen in value from ten to thirty pounds an acre. A large manufactory of leather and shoes is carried on here. There are four meeting houses or churches, one of which, the 'First Church,' is peculiarly elegant, with a handsome spire, two hundred and two feet high, ninety-seven long, and sixty-six feet in breadth, built of stone."

"Near the top is a gallery on the outside, from whence you have a beautiful view of Staten and Long Island, Hudson's River, New York, &c., &c. A large brick building is now erecting here for a Grammar school; 'one large apartment is already opened for the youth of both sexes to meet and learn to sing.

"As night set in the fireflies afforded constant amusement for my walks. The next morning I went a mile out of the town, to see the new bridge over the Pasaick, erected to avoid the frequent disagreeable delays at this ferry. It is neatly framed of wood, with a draw bridge, to let the schooners and other vehicles pass. * * * I remember some very beautiful elevated situations for houses not yet occupied.

* First Presbyterian, Trinity, Moses N. Comb's Congregational Church in Market street, near Plane, and what is now the First Presbyterian in Orange.

† Newark Academy at Broad and Academy streets.

"On the green adjoining to Newark, is lately erected a high pole, surmounted with the cap of liberty. * * * Beds were so scarce at the inn that two of us slept on the floor of the large parlour. The inns are in general very small, travelling not having been very frequent till of late, and the houses only built for private families.

"I went next morning to an exhibition of wild beasts, among which was a buffalo, just brought from Kentucky; it resembled an ill-used cow, and of the colour of an ass.

"There are four or five post chaises kept in this place, and a multitude of one horse chaises, which pay, I think, five shillings a year tax to the State of New Jersey. There is a stage every day in the summer, which sets out at six o'clock in the morning for New York, from Archer Gifford's (fare three shillings currency) and returns again to dinner. It puts up in New York, at the corner of Cortland street and Broadway. It is very convenient for those that live at Newark, and carry on their business at New York.

"There is, I am told, a very genteel neighborhood here, and much tea-visiting. It is also a great thoroughfare and may be reckoned a very neat, pleasant country town."

"ONE OF THE NEATEST AND PRETTIEST TOWNS."

Thomas Twining, one of the founders of the British Empire in India, visited the United States in 1795, while returning on a visit from the far East to his home. He was still under twenty, but was a keen and close observer. He bore letters from Englishmen of eminence to leading Americans. While in Philadelphia he called upon Washington and in his books of "Travels" gave a most interesting and minute account of the interview. "In the course of the conversation," says Twining, "I mentioned the particular regard and respect with which Lord Cornwallis always spoke of him. He received this communication in the most courteous manner, inquired about his lordship, and expressed for him much esteem."

A day or so later this young Briton, who counted the day upon which he talked with Washington one of the most memorable in his life, left Philadelphia and proceeded across New Jersey to New York, by stage, over much of the very ground upon which Washington and Twining's friend, Lord Cornwallis had struggled for the mastery, less than twenty years before. Our own Newark seems



VIEW OF NEWARK, EAST OF BROAD STREET, 1790

to have awakened in him much of the same enthusiasm that it did in nearly all the other travelers.

"Seven miles farther, beyond Elizabeth, we came to Newark," he wrote, "which I thought one of the neatest and prettiest towns I had ever seen. I was told that many families of Dutch extraction lived here, and it appeared that they kept up their national habits of order and cleanliness. I was struck with the pleasant situation of some white detached houses which I observed on some high ground a few hundred yards to the left of the road. I told my companions that if I settled in America I should be induced to prefer that spot to any I had seen." This was unquestionably the High street section.

Twining misinterpreted the old Puritan love of decency and order as the handiwork of the Dutch, who were never in sufficient numbers in this neighborhood to impress their personality upon the village, materially. Upon leaving Newark, the stage horses became unmanageable in descending the then steep hill from Broad street to the Bridge street bridge. He jumped from the stage, together with some of his fellow passengers, and narrowly escaped being run over. The runaways were not checked until they had crossed the bridge, dragging the swaying coach behind them.

"Four miles farther," he continues, "we came to a bridge over the Hackinsack, a small river that runs into Newark Bay. Two miles farther the country became low and wet, having the appearance of a great swamp, formed by the inundation of the Hudson, which we were now approaching, or by the encroachment of the waters of Raritan Bay, which may be considered the Chesapeake of the Jersey State. The road across this marsh was formed by trees laid across it and covered with earth. Though we went slowly here, the jolting, as the wheels passed from tree to tree was very great. * * * After a mile and a half of this most rough road we arrived at Pawles Hook, situated on the edge of New York Bay, and immediately opposite that city. * * * Here we embarked in a large boat, and the wind being favorable, had a fine sail across the bay, whose width exceeded two miles. The view of New York

in front, of the more expanded bay and three small islands to the right, and the Hudson on our left, was magnificent. I could neither conceal nor express the surprise and delight it afforded me."

THE MOSQUITO PEST IN 1679 AND 1748.

The first visitors to Newark who left any record, came in 1679, but thirteen years after the settlement. They were two Frisian travelers who rowed around in a small boat from New York and proceeded from Bergen Point under the guidance of an Indian. They passed a night in what is now Harrison and the next day explored the river as far as Passaic Falls. They remarked that the English settlement of "Milfort" or "Milford" as Newark was then frequently called, was on high ground, which shows that few if any of the settlers had up to that time made their homes anywhere near the lower marshy regions. They also noted that: "The river of the Northwest Kil [Passaic] is the pleasantest we have yet seen. It is gratifying to look upon the continually changing views which present themselves in going either up or down, with its evergreens of pine or cedar and other species, * * * and its clear bottom and clear, fresh water." *

And then, a little later, in telling of an expedition along Staten Island and in the neighborhood of Elizabethtown: "Nowhere in the country had we been so pestered with mosquitoes as we were on this road."

"The people hereabouts," * wrote another wanderer, an able scientist, in this region, "are said to be troubled in summer with immense swarms of gnats or mosquitoes, which sting them and their cattle. This was ascribed to the long, swampy meadows, on which these insects deposit their eggs."

"It is a handsome flourishing town, * * * This town has the fame of making the best cyder in the world," said Morse's

* Journal of a voyage to New York and a tour of the American Colonies in 1679-80. By Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter. The correct spelling of "mosquitoes" is due to the translator, no doubt.

* Travels into North America, 1748. Vol. I, p. 183.

Geography in 1792. Newark was known the civilized world over for its mosquitoes and its cider, for many generations. The town's shoemaking had also begun to attract attention as we have seen in the notes of a traveler already mentioned. In a tour lasting from 1798 to 1802, John Davis, an Englishman, wrote of Newark, "The houses of Newark are generally shaded by clusters of trees," and it "is famed for the richest cider and probably the largest cobblers' stall in the United States of America."

"Newark is built in a straggling manner," wrote still another, "and has very much the appearance of a large English village. There is agreeable society in this town. * * * Elizabethtown and Newark are both cheerful, lively-looking places, whose tall spires appear very beautiful as you approach at a distance, peeping above the woods with which they are encircled." ¹⁰

"ONE OF THE FINEST VILLAGES IN AMERICA."

"It is one of the finest villages in America," wrote an enthusiastic Frenchman in 1795.¹¹ "It consists of one very long and very broad street, the sides of which are planted thick with rows of trees, and which is composed of many handsome houses. These are all of brick or wood, and every one of them has behind it a neat garden.

"Newark is the usual stage for the mail coaches and for travelers passing between Philadelphia and New York. There are of a consequence a number of good inns in this place. This part of the country is particularly famous for its cyder, which is greatly superior to that product in other parts of Jersey; though even the rest of Jersey cyder be preferable to whatever is produced anywhere else in America, even to the cyder of Virginia which is reckoned exceedingly good.

"A shoemaker who manufactures shoes for exportation employs here between three hundred and four hundred workmen, almost one-half of the inhabitants of the town. The number of these has been greatly augmented by the influx of families which the late massacres have driven from St. Domingo and the other

¹⁰ "Travels Through the States" of North America, 1795-97, by Isaac Weld, jr.

¹¹ Duke de la Rochefaucault Liancourt's Travels Through the United States, 1795-97. Vol. II, pp. 360-362.

French islands. * * * Coming from New York we are obliged to pass through a tract of exceedingly swampy ground. A road was, about a year since constructed, for the first time through the morass. It consists of trees having their branches cut away, disposed longitudinally one beside another, and lightly covered with earth. This road is, of course, still very disagreeable to the traveler, and very difficult for carriages. Though on horseback I was little annoyed by this inconvenience. I was disagreeably sensible of its disadvantageous narrowness which is such that two carriages cannot pass one another upon it, and that two persons meeting on horseback, cannot easily avoid jostling one another.

"This illy constructed and far too narrow causeway has cost a great expense. It is three miles long and has at each end a broad wooden bridge of strong and handsome construction. The toll exacted at the bridges is intended to defray the expense of the road.

"The way between Newark and Elizabethtown leads through an agreeable country, adorned with good houses and farms, having a pleasing aspect of cultivation. The fields are planted with fruit trees particularly with peach trees, which are very common in Jersey.

"I fell in with a fox-chase in my short journey on this road. It is a common diversion with the gentlemen of Jersey, at least in these parts, and here, as in England, everyone joins in the chase, who either has a horse of his own, or can borrow one. I should almost have thought at first sight that I was in Suffolk; but both dogs and horses have a much more indifferent appearance than those I should, there, have seen."

Those were times of bloody turmoil in France and many a Frenchman of noble family fled to America, which had so lately and so gloriously won its independence, as an asylum of safety. Not a few busied themselves as did the Duke de la Rochefaucault Liancourt, just quoted, in gathering information for works of travel. Another wanderer from France at this time was J. P. Brissot de Warville who, while in the Newark neighborhood found much to interest him. His remarks concerning the traffic system of the time are especially interesting: ¹²

"The carriage is a kind of open wagon, hung with double curtains of leather and woolen, which you raise and let fall at pleasure; it is not well suspended. * * * The horses are good and go with rapidity. These carriages have four benches and may contain

¹² New Travels in the United States of America. By J. P. Brissot de Warville. London, 1794. See second edition. Vol. 1, pp. 142-144.

twelve persons. The light baggage is put under the benches, and the trunks fixed on behind. A traveler who does not choose to take the stage has a one-horse carriage by himself. * * * Notwithstanding the inconvenience of the roads they now run ninety-five miles a day.

"You find in these stages men of all professions. They succeed each other with rapidity. One who goes twenty miles yields his place to one who goes farther. The mother and daughter mount the stage to go ten miles to dine; another stage brings them back. At every instant you are making new acquaintances. The frequency of these carriages, the facility of finding places in them, and the low and fixed prices invite Americans to travel."

The stages aroused no enthusiasm in Charles William Jansen who thus described them in his "The Stranger in America," published in London in 1807:

"Having been safely ferried over to Paulus Hook, a miserable place, all the New York stages and horses for proceeding toward the Southern states being kept there, we saw a number of waggons with horses yoked, ready to depart; and the groups of passengers assembled, being truly a curious scene. I now mounted for the first time an American stage, literally a kind of light wagon. While I attempt to describe this clumsy and uncomfortable machine, I cannot suppress a wish of being possessed of one of them, with the horses, harness and driver, just as we set off, in order to convert them into an exhibition in London. I should not doubt of their proving as attractive and as lucrative as Lunardi and the Pantheon, with his balloon and his quadruped companions in his first aered voyage over the city. * * *

"The vehicle, which is of the same construction throughout the country, is calculated to hold twelve persons, who all sit on benches placed across with their faces toward the horses. The front seat always holds three, one of whom is the driver, and as there are no doors at the sides [or back], the passengers get in over the front wheels and take their seats as they enter; the first, of course, get seats behind the rest. This is the most esteemed seat, because you can rest your shaken frame against the back part of the wagon. Women are therefore indulged with it, and it is often laughable to see them crawling to their seats; and if they happen to be late they often have to straddle over the men who are seated further in front. * * *

"It [the stage] is covered with leather and instead of windows there are flaps of that article, which in bad weather are secured by buckles and straps."

THE VILLAGE BEAUTIFUL.

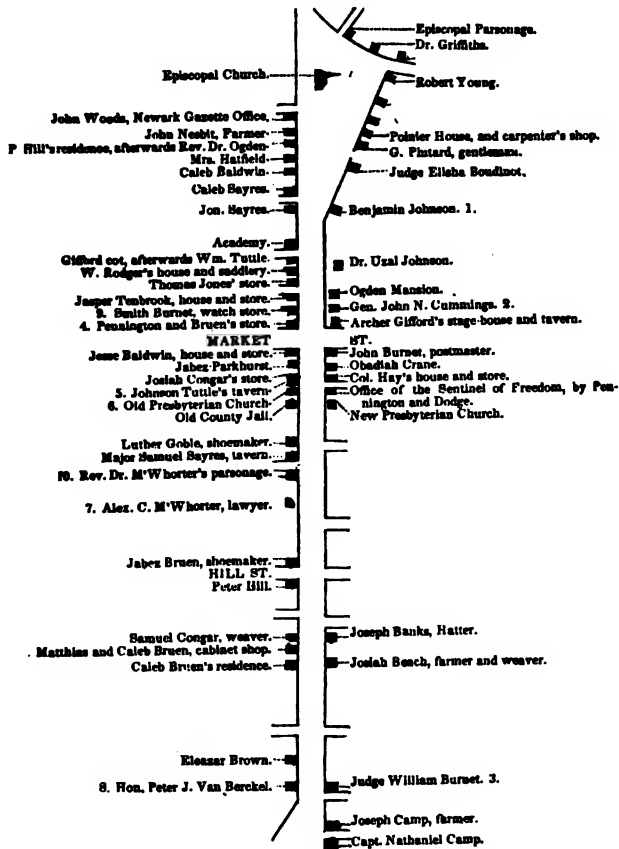
For many years previous to and throughout the War for Independence Elizabeth had vied with Newark in importance. Elizabeth lost all chances for superiority from the very hour that the first bridge over the Passaic in Newark, was put in commission. Newark at once was placed on the main line of travel across New Jersey. Elizabeth was, indeed, doomed to recede steadily into a second place. Newark showed to better advantage than Elizabeth when approached from across the marshes. Newark rested complacently on the higher ground. Its bosky hillsides were dotted with sheep in summer time, and its substantial homes, usually but a story and one-half high were half hidden in honeysuckle and other vines. Every home of any pretensions had its garden and its orchard. More than one poetic soul sprang into rhapsodies of verse at the beauty of the village in spring when the peach trees were in bloom. All this was part of the heritage from the founders, the Pilgrim pioneers, who insisted on decency and order from the beginning, whose scrupulous exactness in all their personal dealings was reflected in the system and symmetry of their town's physical aspect. It was truly a New England village in all its outward semblance, so deep and potent were the Puritan characteristics even after the passing of nearly one hundred and fifty years and in spite of the fearful ravages of a long and bitter war, which in Essex County, as throughout the greater part of the State, possessed many of the elements of a civil war.

But a new life was stirring. The talents wrapped in a napkin, as it were, for so many generations, were now to begin the process of increasing many, many fold; a process which now, in the twentieth century, may be said to at last be in full operation.

THE DAY OF THE STAGE COACH, 1794-1840.

From the opening of the bridges over the Passaic and Hackensack in 1794 until the coming of the first railroad early in the 1830's (a period of about forty years) may be termed the era of the stage coach. Previous to the war the land communications with

A PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL PART OF BROAD ST., NEWARK, SHOWING THE BUILDINGS AND OCCUPANTS ABOUT THE YEAR 1796.*



1. Afterwards used for several successive years as a post-office by Matth. Day.
2. Gen. Cummings was a colonel in the Revolutionary army, and President of a bank in Newark, which was the first established in New Jersey.
3. Judge Burnet was a distinguished surgeon in the Revolutionary army.
4. William S. Pennington was Governor of New Jersey in 1813: he was the father of Wm. Pennington, late Governor of the State.—John Alling's blacksmith shop was next to his store.
5. Now Stuart's Hotel.
6. The old Presbyterian Church, after the erection of the new one, was used as a court house, and the old court house as a jail.
7. Now the Mansion House.
8. Hon. Peter J. Van Berckel was minister plenipotentiary from Holland to the United States.
9. Wm. Gardner's barber shop adjoined or was next to Smith Burnet's watch store.
10. Col. Aaron Burr was born in this house.

New York by way of Paulus Hook, were over the original Plank Road, along Market street, more or less closely following the present Ferry street; the route on the Hackensack meadows, (once the rude ferry was crossed) being pretty accurately defined to-day by the Plank Road trolley cars. The old Schuyler road, which as already told, was built by John Schuyler as an outlet for the ore from his copper mine, furnished an avenue to the Hackensack and on to Paulus Hook for Belleville and the other settlements north and northwest of Newark. It is said, by the way, that the original Schuyler roadbed was laid by several hundred sailors from vessels of the British fleet lying at anchor in New York harbor a decade or so before the War for Independence.

Between the Hackensack and Passaic bridges the road was a very rough and crude affair. Stretches of it were washed by the high tide and it required skillful charioteering on the part of the coach drivers to keep their vehicles right side up. Passengers often preferred to walk. Much of the way was through a dense and dark cedar forest, a prime place for highwaymen to ply their trade. So pestiferous did these gentry become that stage hold-ups were by no means uncommon. In the second decade of the last century, about 1816, a mail stage was robbed, and it was not long afterward that the cutting away of the forest began.¹³

THE NEW YORK-PHILADELPHIA LINES.

By 1800 there were several stages which went to New York every morning, early, except Sunday, and returned in the afternoon. There was a New York-Philadelphia stage, at this time also, passing through Newark, and reaching Philadelphia by way of Somerville. About 1810 there were no less than four stage lines between the two large cities, using the Hackensack and Passaic bridges, General John N. Cumming of Newark being one of the chief proprietors, as well as holding the government contract to move the mail across

¹³ In June, 1799, the private carriage of the British Minister to the United States, who was on his way to Washington, was beset by robbers, "as it was passing through a little wood on Barbadoes Neck. Two port-manteaux were cut from behind and taken off."

the State. The first or "Pilot" stage, left Paulus Hook at 5 in the morning, carried seven passengers at \$10 a head, and reached Philadelphia the following morning, early. At seven in the morning the "Commercial" stage left Paulus Hook, reached Trenton late the same day and the next morning proceeded to Philadelphia, reaching there about 11 o'clock that morning. The fare was \$6, but, of course the cost of night accommodations at Trenton left little difference between the two rates, although the break in the trip made it more comfortable. At one in the afternoon the "Mail," (the Congressional Limited of its day) left Paulus Hook, carried six passengers at \$10 each, and after traveling most if not all of the night, rumbled into Philadelphia at six in the morning. Then there was the "Expedition" line coach, which started at 5 in the afternoon, put up for the night at Bridgeton and arrived at Philadelphia the following afternoon.

THE SHORT LINE STAGES.

In 1797 or '98, a stage line was established between Morristown and Paulus Hook. The eastbound service was on Tuesdays and Fridays, and the westbound on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The stage left Morristown at six in the morning, drawn by four horses, passed through Madison, Chatham, Springfield, and onward by an old road that afterward became Springfield avenue and into Newark by what is now Clinton avenue. From Newark it proceeded to Paulus Hook. The entire trip, under favorable circumstances, took but one day, but not infrequently a halt for the night was made at Newark. The fare between Morristown and Paulus Hook was \$1.25. Later, when a steamboat plied regularly between Newark and New York, the Morristown coaches came no further eastward than Newark.

In April, 1795, a four-horse stage "for the Summer season," between Paterson and Paulus Hook, by way of Newark, was established, Paterson then being an infant settlement. The stage left Paterson at six in the morning on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, stopping to change horses and for passengers and mail, at Gifford's tavern in Newark, Thursdays and Saturdays.

FAST TRAVEL ACROSS THE STATE.

The fastest New York-Newark-Philadelphia stages advertised to make the westbound trip of 96 miles in 19 hours, which meant all night travel. The eastbound journey consumed 20 hours. Short-distance or "local" passengers were usually charged six cents a mile. One could carry fourteen pounds of baggage without charge; four cents a pound was the rate for excess.

All stages stopped at Newark, for fresh horses, to put off and take on passengers and baggage. They tore rapidly down and up Broad street, their horns, especially that of the mail coach, sounding loudly. The village was always a scene of animation upon the arrival and departure of the coaches. The people set their clocks by them, watched for them, did much of their small business between towns and cities through the drivers and guards and, thanks to this most excellent means of communication for its time (crude though it may seem to us to-day), kept themselves more or less in close touch with the outside world. Later on most of the coaches were moved by four horses, and in the early 1830's, just as stage coaching hereabouts had reached its high tide of prosperity, a six horse stage, "made in Newark," was put on the New York-Philadelphia line. At the time Newark became a city, in 1836, and when its first railroad was just beginning to make a strong bid for public patronage, there were two Newark-New York stage lines giving service either way of about one-hour intervals during the day, and carrying upwards of eight hundred passengers daily.

The stage coach traffic on Broad street was not an unmitigated benefit. It wore the roadway into great, unsightly furrows and ridges until it was almost impassable in stormy weather. Racing between coaches of rival lines became a great nuisance and had to be publicly frowned upon, and racing drivers were threatened with discharge. In 1799 a Newark citizen was run down and killed by one of two racing coaches.

A LOSING STRUGGLE WITH THE RAILROADS.

While the coming of the railroads sounded the knell for stage coaching days, the big and prosperous companies which had flourished for many years did not give up without a struggle. At first they even strove to maintain such lines as the railroad paralleled, but of course soon found them unprofitable, as their coaches were almost at once emptied of passengers, mail and baggage. There were not enough conservative old citizens (such as are in every age hostile to any beneficial innovation) to maintain the traffic. Then the stage owners developed lines in sections to which the "iron horse" had not penetrated.

Newark's first railroad was put into commission, from Newark to Jersey City, in December, 1833, and while, even six months before that we find an ominous newspaper advertisement offering a fine stage coach for sale, we also note in the same issue an announcement that the Newark-Jersey City stage will call for passengers at their homes or hotels and deliver them at their destinations in New York if they wish to get down within reasonable distance of Broadway and Cortland street. Fulton steam ferryboats had been in operation for over twenty years between New York and Jersey City. Presently, too, comes the announcement that the Newark stage will call for people at their homes and deliver them at the steamboat wharf (in Newark), in time to get the boat for New York.

In 1833, also, an advertisement announces that the "Eclipse line" is now running between Orange and New York by way of Newark and Jersey City, "every day, Sundays excepted." It left Orange at 6 in the morning, Newark at 7:15, and returning, left New York at 4 in the afternoon, and making the trip to Newark, including the ferry and the long drive across the meadows, in one hour and a half, reaching Newark at 5:30. It was not long, however, before this service dwindled down to a mere fetching and carrying of people to and from the Newark steamboat dock and Orange. A stage line between Newark and Bloomfield, in 1834,

carried passengers to and from the boat for 25 cents. In the same year there was a Newark and Paterson stage line, leaving Paterson at 7:30 in the morning and leaving Newark for the return trip at 2 in the afternoon, the fare being fifty cents each way.

INTERSECTING STAGE LINES.

In 1833 and for a few years thereafter, until the Morris and Essex Railroad had really begun to develop its territory, there was a powerful line of Western stages, so called, plying between Jersey City and Milford, Pa., by way of Newark, Chatham, "Sukassony Plains," Stanhope, Newton and Augusta. It met an intersecting line at Newton, which passed through that place three times a week from Newburgh, N. Y., to Easton and to Philadelphia. At the Milford terminus, the Western stage met another intersecting line that traveled to Easton, Pa.

"Every day except Monday" (strange to relate) in 1833, a stage left Newark for Elizabethtown and Rahway, at 4 in the morning, "in time to take Reeside's splendid coaches which proceed through Princeton to Trenton; from thence to take the steamboat to Philadelphia and arrive there the same afternoon." In 1834 a stage from Newark, starting at 5 in the morning, connected with a boat at Elizabethtown Point, passengers for southern points leaving that boat at South Amboy there to "take the splendid cars of the Camden and Amboy railroad," reaching Trenton at 1 in the afternoon and Philadelphia at 3.

But the struggle for supremacy was soon over. By 1837 the newspapers were well-nigh bare of stage advertisements, and by 1840 they had practically disappeared, their funny little wood cuts with plunging horses and swishing drivers' whips curling gracefully over the rocking coaches, being gone forever. All that remains in New Jersey of those hustling old stage coach days is an occasional stage-wagon toiling painfully between two or more remote points, or a clattering auto-stage here and there, raising the dust and stirring the echoes of regions still rural.

In 1829, an indignant citizen wrote to the editor of a Newark newspaper complaining that "noisy, profane idlers of all colours, mostly boys who hang about the Stage House, seize every letter and package etc., entrusted to the care of drivers, and, carrying them to their owners, tax the latter roundly. If refused they often become abusive and sometimes threaten to keep the goods." The boys were, it seems, developing a parcels delivery of their own. The indignant citizen unconsciously gives us an amusing sidelight upon his own parsimony and was no doubt typical of a considerable class, who had been in the habit of getting stage drivers and guards to deliver their packages, occasional unmailed letters and other property, free of charge.

THE OLD MAIL COACH GUARD.

The guards on the mail coaches were persons of no small importance. They were little short of heroes to the youthful imagination. "The guard," said a venerable Newarker, giving his reminiscences of the old stage-coaching days, "was always selected with reference to his reputation for pluck, for taciturnity and for integrity; for committed to his charge were not only the mails and remittances, but often intelligence of the most confidential character. The former it was often necessary to defend from armed attacks, the latter from more dangerous and covert assaults. On the road from New York to Philadelphia * * * the guard was often entrusted with enormous amounts of money and the most precious correspondence. He made the circuit from New York to Philadelphia without being relieved—though horses and drivers were changed every ten miles * * * .

"The guard wore a species of uniform intended to protect him from the night and storm and which also served * * * to elevate him to a very high pinnacle in the estimation of Young America of his day. The principal feature of his dress was a huge drab overcoat of woolen cloth, reaching nearly to his ankles, faced on both the sides from the collar down and also around the bottom, with a bright crimson strip nearly a hand's breath in width. The breast was lined throughout on the inside, with the same startling colored material; and a double row of huge horn buttons kept guard upon the outside.

"The famous weather protector was provided with enormous pockets—those on the outside to receive the wearer's woolen comforter and capacious gloves, and those on the inside for the letters and valuables that were often entrusted to him outside the mails.

"He wore a black leather cap, around which ran a crimson strip, like that which formed the facings of his overcoat; and most pretentious of all to the gaping urchins and prowling rascals who looked with covetous eyes on the mail bags and their fabulous possibilities—around his waist was buckled a stout leathern belt, in which were thrust, somewhat ostentatiously, one on each side, two gigantic pistols. Beside him also, on his seat, lay a blunderbuss, which rumor whispered, was loaded to the muzzle with feruble buck shot. Thus equipped, stout handed and stout hearted also, feeling the greatness of the trusts that were reposed in him, the guard became proud of his reputation for faithfulness and courage, and most rarely indeed was an imputation levelled against either.

"Manifold were the secrets placed in his keeping, important and delicate the trusts confided to him; but breasting all weather, facing cold, heat, and plunging into the darkness of the storm, the guard in his simple, honest, single-minded nature, seldom knew temptation, or if he did, rose manfully above it." ¹⁴

The stage coach traffic virtually created Jersey City. The old tavern and stables which had for generations been the only structures at Paulus Hook, soon were surrounded by a huddle of buildings. In 1805 "The City of Jersey" was begun by a company of promoters, who bought large tracts and did a brisk business in selling lots, special privileges being offered to early purchasers. A number of Newark's leading citizens were personally interested in this enterprise.

Meanwhile, as the stage coach was making a new Newark, and working ceaselessly for the ultimate disappearance of the charming little village, the town's commercial interests were gradually springing into new life. There was a constant water traffic between Newark and New York and a coastwise service was being developed, as advertisements in a local paper show. In 1796 the sloop "Patty" sailed every now and then for Charleston, N. C., from the Newark bridge. In 1800 the schooner "Louisa" carried on a service between Newark, starting from the bridge, to Savannah.

¹⁴ From a letter, signed "Sancho," published by the Newark Daily Advertiser on August 21, 1863.

THE ERA OF THE TURNPIKE.

When the War for Independence closed, Newark's streets were: The two main thoroughfares, now Broad and Market streets; the West Back street (Washington), the East Back street (Mulberry), and a few lanes connecting these. There were, of course, the old roads out into the country, laid down in the seventeenth or in the early years of the eighteenth century, as described in Chapter X. The prosperity that seems to have attended the establishment of the Newark and Hackensack bridges and the turnpike between them stimulated the building of other turnpikes by companies of individuals who derived their remuneration from the tolls.

In 1806 the Newark to Pompton turnpike¹⁸ Company was incorporated. Starting from what is now Belleville avenue, then the Belleville or Second River Road, it ran to Montclair (Crane-town), being what we now know as Bloomfield avenue, to Cedar Grove, to Pompton Plains, with a branch starting at Montclair mountain top, to Caldwell and Parsippany (the present Bloomfield avenue). This is virtually the old Horseneck Road, laid down about 1770. At the time Newark became a city, this was the great artery of travel for all northern and northwestern New Jersey. It was acquired by the Essex County Road Board in 1872, and thrown open as a public highway, from Newark to Pine Brook. The Turnpike Company at that time abandoned what we now know as the Pompton Turnpike, and the various county bodies took it up.

In the same year, 1806, the Mount Pleasant Turnpike Company was incorporated, and laid out the road to Morristown, utilizing the old Crane road, which starts at the Essex County Courthouse, north side. This turnpike ran over the Orange Mountain south of Llewellyn Park, through Livingston, to the Passaic at Hanover, and thence on to Morristown through Whippany, making use of old roads or trails the greater part of the way.

¹⁸ "Turnpike" is an ancient English word, indicating the place on a road where toll is gathered. In very early times a staff, spear or pike was placed across the road and was not turned to one side to give the traveler free passage until he had paid the toll. In England, "turnpike" still means the place where toll is taken, and not the road. "Shunpike" is a path or road by which one may avoid or "shun" the toll road, and pass without paying.

About a month after the incorporation of the Mount Pleasant Turnpike Company, the Springfield and Newark company was started, building what is now Springfield avenue, and connecting with the old Morris Turnpike at Springfield.

Clinton avenue is really one of the most ancient of all Newark's highways. It was at first a mere path, possibly an Indian trail in the beginning, and ran from the lower or southern gate of the village in the days of the founders, on out into the hills. It passed through the several stages always incidental to the development of roads of the sort, becoming a cart path, following the lines of least resistance as did the original trail, and being widened as the increase in traffic required. It ran as it does now, to where it joins Springfield avenue, in the old days little more than a trail. Because of its miry condition the greater part of the year, a plank road was laid down somewhere about the middle of the last century, from what is now Badger avenue to the top of the ascent, once called the Long Hill. It was a turnpike or toll road, within the memory of many Newark and Irvington residents still living (1913).

In 1811 the Newark and Morristown Turnpike was created, being what is now South Orange avenue, and from South Orange to Passaic at what was known as Columbia Bridge. The old Bloomfield road, described in Chapter X, lost much of its popularity when the Pompton Turnpike was laid down. These new highways were steadily followed by others of lesser importance, as the whole countryside, reacted upon by the growing activity centered in Newark, stirred into a new life. The horn of the stage coach did more than awake the ancient echoes of the whole sylvan region and startle the sheep on the hillsides; it was as a bugle call announcing the arrival of a new era.

Newark's Postmasters—The following is a complete list of the postmasters of Newark, with the dates of their appointments: John Burnet, February 16, 1790; Matthias Day, April 1, 1804; Pruden Alling, March 8, 1833; William Stevens, June 29, 1841; Jacob K. Mead, May 5, 1843; John J. Plume, June 17, 1844; Wilson

Knott, June 13, 1845; Rodney Wilbur, April 4, 1849; Charles T. Gray, April 6, 1853; David Price, April 6, 1861; Ezra A. Carman, July 26, 1866; John J. Craven, October 12, 1866; Alex. N. Dougherty, April 11, 1867; William Ward, June 29, 1869; William H. F. Fiedler, March 29, 1886; Edward L. Conklin, October 1, 1889; William D. Rutan, January 31, 1894; Joseph E. Haynes, May 15, 1895; David D. Bragaw, January 10, 1898; James L. Hays, May 26, 1899; Frank J. Bock, January 16, 1912.

The location of the Burnet and Day offices has already been given. Pruden Alling had the office in his store at the northeast corner of Market and Broad streets. All the early postmasters conducted the offices in their stores. In the early 1850's the office was located in Market street, on the north side in what was then Library Hall. The government built a post office in 1857-8, on the Newark Academy property, which it had just purchased. The destruction and removal of that building was begun on August 1, 1890, the office being conducted partly in the old First Baptist Church, which stood directly west, and partly in the new building, which was not entirely finished until February 1, 1897. This is the structure still occupied (1913).

CHAPTER XVIII.

**CIVIC PRIDE, 1787-1800—THE FIRE MENACE AND HOW IT
WAS MET—THE NIGHT WATCH.**

CHAPTER XVIII.

CIVIC PRIDE, 1787-1800—THE FIRE MENACE AND HOW IT WAS MET— THE NIGHT WATCH.

IT was characteristic of the community that its first public work of any magnitude after recovering from the staggering blows it had received during the War for Independence should be the erection of a larger house of worship. Indeed, preparations for a new edifice had been begun in 1774, and £2,000 had been subscribed. The site was to be a little knoll, called "School House Hill," on the south side of Market street, a hundred yards or so west of Broad street. Trenches had already been dug for the foundation stones, when the war came. Considerable metal had been collected to be converted into a bell. This was loaded into a cart and hauled by oxen down into the meadows, near the present line of Elm street, about a mile east of Mulberry street, where it was buried and where it remained until the war was over.

Four years after the close of the war the village was ready to start upon the new church, thanks to the strenuous efforts of Pastor Macwhorter. The original site was now felt to be inferior to one on the east side of Broad street, about opposite the church then in use. So, in September, 1787, the new building, the present First Presbyterian Church, and the third in the history of the Newark Congregation, was begun, with impressive ceremonies. After prayers, Dr. Macwhorter, standing at what is now the northeast corner of the church proper, took out the first spadeful of earth, followed by the deacons, until all the men in the congregation ranged along the foundation lines were at work, the opening of the trenches being completed in a few hours. The structure was of the most advanced and generally approved type of church architecture of the time.¹ It gave a charming touch to the whole aspect of the

¹ The First Presbyterian Church owned a Newark quarry, and it is probable the brownstone for the edifice was taken from it. A two-years' lease of the quarry was disposed of at public "vendue" in May, 1795, at Gifford's tavern.

village. It cost about £9,000 and was completed in January, 1791. Its immediate predecessor, a stone structure about forty-four feet square, was built as early as 1716 and possibly in 1708. According to Dr. Macwhorter, "it was the most elegant edifice for public worship at that time in the whole Colony." It is said to have taken thirty years to entirely complete the interior. It had a bell, as early as 1735. When the new or present church was taken possession of in 1791, the old building became the Essex County Court House and was used for that purpose for more than fifteen years. The cemetery at the rear of the present church was apparently opened while the building was in process of erection, most of this land being the property of the lot owners, as it is to this day, 1913. There were few interments in the Old Burying Ground after that, and the resting place of the founders, which should have been preserved with reverent care, fell into a state of neglect almost immediately.

There were contributors to the church building fund from all parts of the county and even from Bergen, and during the years it was in process of erection, the owner of the old ferry across the Passaic transported free all persons bent on the church's business. When, however, it was announced that the sittings were to be sold at auction, there was a loud protest from all directions. Later, when the trustees of the church attempted to collect an annuity from the pewholders for the upkeep of the church, there was another demonstration of disapproval. Some paid the annuity although objecting to the principle. Others refused to pay and were prosecuted. The whole matter was then aired in the courts, and the decision was against the legality of the assessment.²

THE TOWN'S SECOND ACADEMY.

The church finished, the community seems to have at once bent its energies upon the establishment of a creditable "temple of learning," and the members of both religious congregations,

² See "More Anon," in Newark Daily Advertiser for Oct. 15, 1863.



THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
From a photograph made in 1913

Presbyterian and Episcopalian, united in this work with equal zeal, just as they had done in the erection of the old Academy on Washington Park, burned by the British some ten years before. The cornerstone for the new Academy, at the corner of Broad and what is now Academy street, was laid on Monday, June 25, 1792, (the land being purchased, not donated) "with much ceremony, amid the acclamation of a large number of the inhabitants of the town and neighborhood. This building, it is said, will, when finished, for convenience and elegance, vie with any building of like nature in America.

"Last Sunday being the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, a day observed by the masonic order, the celebration of the same was put off until Monday, when the brethren assembled, and, with their officers and other inhabitants, went in procession to the place intended for the academy, when the master of the lodge, Col. [John N.] Cumming [a faithful soldier of the War for Independence] laid the cornerstone and delivered a handsome address, pertinent to the occasion, as did also Dr. Macwhorter. They then returned in like manner to the Presbyterian Church," then less than two years old, "when the Rev. Mr. [Uzal] Ogden, after the usual ceremony, delivered an excellent discourse well adapted to the occasion. The whole was conducted with much decorum, and the remainder of the day spent at Mr. Gifford's tavern, where a magnificent dinner was provided for the occasion, in a social, friendly manner, attended with that hilarity common on such occasions."

The funds were raised by subscription, the pastors of the two churches, together with the town's postmaster, John Burnet, being a committee of three to solicit them. Permission was obtained from the Legislature to hold a lottery to raise additional funds of an amount not to exceed £800, and this was done, the enterprise being closed and the lottery "drawn" in June, 1794. There was a first prize of \$2,500, one of \$1,500, two of \$1,000 each, two of \$500, one of \$300, three of \$200, five of \$100 and twelve of \$50 each, a total of \$9,000 in prizes.

It was a hard struggle to get sufficient money, but the success of the enterprise was made certain, when St. John's Lodge of Free Masons arranged to defray about one-third of the cost, on condition

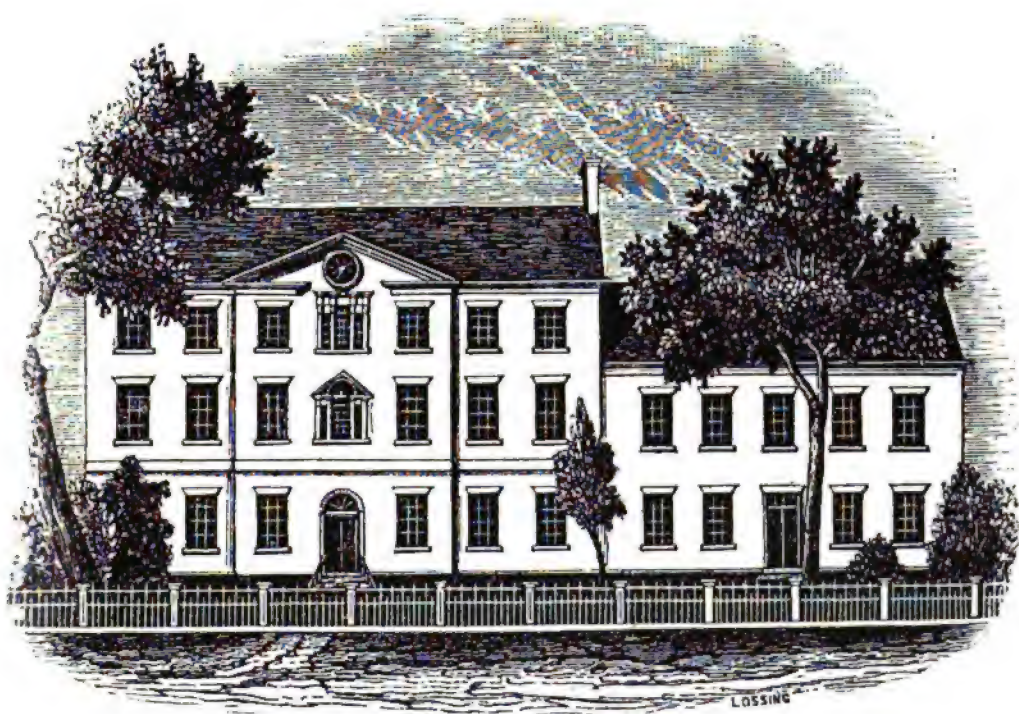
that a third story be built to be set aside for its uses. An attractive structure of brick was built, with a frontage of sixty-six feet on Broad street, setting back some distance from the street, and with a depth of thirty-four feet. The Newark Academy Association was organized in February, 1794, with Isaac Gouverneur, the same who owned the handsome estate at what is now Mount Pleasant avenue and Gouverneur street, known afterwards as Cockloft Hall (thanks to Washington Irving), as first president of the board of trustees. Dr. Macwhorter, the first president of the association, so continued until he passed away in 1807. One other episode connected with the gathering in of the "wherewithal" for the work must not be forgotten. One contributor, of the name of Watts, donated a negro man, "James," who was sold by Rev. Uzal Ogden, rector of Trinity Church, for forty pounds, the same going into the building fund.

ST. JOHN'S LODGE CEREMONIES.

The two lower floors of the Academy were completed late in 1792 or early in 1793 and were at once put into use as a school for boys and young men. The rooms of St. John's lodge were dedicated in June, 1795. They were designed by John Pintard, "a highly respectable gentleman of considerable architectural taste," says one writer. Freemasons gathered from far and near to attend the dedication, a function of great dignity and importance as may be gathered from the following newspaper notices:

"The members of St. John's Lodge, No. 2, purpose to dedicate their new lodge room erected in this town, on June 16th. Every member conforming with the resolutions of the lodge shall be entitled to four tickets from the Stewards, for the admission of his friends. The brethren of the several lodges in this State and in the city of New York are invited to attend with their cloathing. A masonic procession will take place on this occasion.

"The hour of assembling is appointed at 5 o'clock P. M., at Brother Archer Gifford's long room. The procession to be formed, move to the Lodge room before sunset, and the dedication to take place at 8 o'clock. The Stewards will furnish the visiting brethren with tickets at one dollar each.



NEWARK ACADEMY, AT BROAD AND ACADEMY STREETS
In the early 1850's

"The erection and compleating this Lodge has been attended with very considerable expense. The stile of its architecture is perfectly adapted to masonic operations, and the elegance of the room and furniture may vie with, if not surpass, any structure of the kind in the United States. Its dimensions are about 38 feet by 30. The centre forms a dome 18 feet high, supported by 8 columns, surrounded by panel work, within which is placed the altar, etc., etc. The seats for the officers and craft are distributed around the extension of the elipsis, by which means the Lodge may be conducted with that order and decorum so essentially necessary to the operations of masonry."

The newspaper account of the exercises was quite extraordinary, as the following paragraphs will make clear: "The hall was splendidly illuminated by a superb glass chandelier suspended from the centre of the dome, and eight patent lamps, which gave a delightful aspect to the elegance of the room and decorations. The labors of the craft in constructing this Lodge were more than compensated by the smiles of approbation from a brilliant assemblage of ladies, who honored the ceremonies of the day with their presence. * * *

"Having passed an agreeable and instructive evening, the meek-eyed daughters of benevolence and love reluctantly retired, casting longing, lingering looks behind; tenderly impressed with a fond belief of the last persuasive accents of the fraternity reverberating from the hallowed dome of the Lodge to their sympathetic bosoms:

"No mortals can more
The ladies adore
Than a free and accepted Mason."

The exercises in the lodge rooms were preceded by a procession starting at Gifford's tavern, passing around Military Park, just at dusk, with torches.

Just across Broad street and immediately south of where the Morris Canal was to be built some forty years later, stood a double two-story house, which for some years was occupied by the early principals of the Academy and where they took boarding pupils. It became known as one of the best academies in the country and many of its pupils came from distant cities and towns. In 1802, the demand for advanced education for young women having

become too strong to be longer denied, full courses of instruction for young ladies were opened. The Academy Association built a brick house north of the Academy building as a boarding school for their exclusive use. The Academy continued to be used as such until 1855, when the property was sold to the Federal government for Postoffice purposes, soon after which the institution was transferred to the building on the south corner of High and William streets, where it still (1913) remains.

Thus three truly great works, when one remembers that the town proper numbered scarcely more than 1,200 inhabitants—the Passaic river bridge (described in the previous chapter), the First Church and the Academy—were accomplished in a period of about six years, all through private generosity. The community was alert, and eager to improve. Its people were critical, too, of anything which in their judgment impaired the advancement of its physical attractiveness. In March, 1796, there appeared the following graceful paragraph intended to quicken the members of Trinity Church:

TRINITY CHURCH IN 1796.

"The season is now present for decorating the town. And while architecture is improving the appearance of other places, perhaps it may not be amiss to mention that the steeple of the Episcopal Church wants rebuilding. A thorough repair in that pleasantly situated temple would greatly add to the entertaining scene which the hills and plains of Newark exhibit. The wealth of the members of that congregation joined to their taste, and it is hoped with their piety, will probably unite them this summer to adorn the end of so noble a street."

Trinity Church at that time and for some years thereafter was considered as marking the northern end of the "parade," as Broad street, starting at Market street, was sometimes called. A little above, it was comparatively open country, with only an occasional farm or manor house, except for the little business centre at Mill Brook. The church at that time as described by one writer

was "a small, awkwardly constructed building with straight-backed, uncomfortable seats, and a very small pulpit, placed in the west end, and only large enough for one person. The entrance to the church was on the south side, through a small door placed in the centre of the building." Originally, the entrance was through the base of the tower, as in the present edifice, as a very old drawing shows it. The present church, the second, was not begun until 1809, being dedicated on May 21, 1810. The stone was taken from Newark's quarries and the building was described in 1812 as "the most elegant Episcopal church in New Jersey."

THE FIRE MENACE.

In 1796 Newark was spoken of in the newspapers as growing rapidly, and in 1800 as the "most flourishing town of the State." This very growth brought new dangers, and one in particular that was to finally stir the community to its very foundations and call forth its best brains and resourcefulness to abate. This was the fire menace. In common with all the towns and cities in America it lived in more or less constant fear of serious disaster. The people knew how to build, but adequate protection against fire was yet to be devised. For generations, Newark folk had long been expected to provide themselves with ladders for their own and the common good, but since the war, at least, few had done so. The first fire of record occurred in 1768, when the County Court house took fire. "But," explains a New York newspaper of the time, "it was happily extinguished by the dexterity of the inhabitants without doing other damage than consuming part of the roof." One or two houses and barns were partly burned immediately before the War for Independence, but these fires were believed to have been incendiary, due to the animosities engendered in those exciting times.

In the 1790's, however, the community was growing too large to longer feel itself competent to down the fire demon in the crude fashion of its fathers. In 1794, the "Patriotic Society for Promoting Objects of Public Utility," organized a short time before among

the leading citizens, largely for the purpose of furnishing aid to its own people and those of other towns in time of need, provided a number of ladders out of its own funds "to be kept sacred for the use of the citizens in case of fire." * Shortly after the half dozen or so ladders were placed about the pretty little village, the pastors of the two churches called on the citizens to assemble and do something to meet the growing emergency. They caused this notice to be published in the town newspaper:

"At the desire of several persons of respectability of character, the subscribers request the citizens of Newark to assemble to-morrow evening, at half an hour after five o'clock, when the bells of the public buildings of the town will ring, at the Court House, to take into consideration the propriety of procuring a Fire Engine or engines, for the preservation of the town. As the object of this meeting is important it is hoped that it will be attended by all the male inhabitants of the place to whom it shall be convenient.

ALEXANDER MACWHORTER.
UZAL OGDEN."

THE BURNING OF THE BOUDINOT HOUSE.

The majority of the people (as was strikingly the case in all sections of the country) did not fully appreciate the growing danger. The meeting accomplished nothing definite and the town slumbered again, the thoughtless ones secure only in the imagination of their hearts, until, one epoch-making night in midwinter, 1797—but let the old newspaper tell it:

* This society may truly be reckoned as the first of Newark's uplift, or civic betterment organizations. On several occasions it collected funds for the relief of unfortunates in Philadelphia and New York as well as at home, in times of suffering and want after big fires or during epidemics. In October, 1793, it organized a fund to relieve the necessities of "criminals and debtors in the Newark Gaol," who in a public announcement described it as suffering great hardships in winter, living in filth, without sufficient clothing or bedding, and often with scanty food. Contributions of shoes, meat, grain and other produce, were solicited, besides money, by a committee of some of the leading citizens. Conditions in the jail must have been appallingly bad, and this society strove to rouse the people to ameliorate them. It does not seem to have occurred to any of the members, however, that steps might be taken to put an end to the imprisonment of debtors. The practise continued well into the 1830's. It even made an effort to organize charity schools as early as 1794. How far it carried this plan is not known. In 1798 it collected \$455 and 160 pairs of shoes for yellow fever sufferers in New York. The shoes were to be sold for the benefit of the sufferers.

"FIRE!"

"How terrible thou art as master! How generous a servant! On Monday evening last the magnificent dwelling house occupied and the property of Elisha Boudinot, Esq., situated in the centre of this town, was discovered to be on fire about 7 o'clock. The cry was echoed by the affrighted inhabitants (who have not been accustomed to scenes so awful) throughout the town in a few minutes, and not less than five hundred of them were at the scene in from 30 to 40 minutes from its discovery. The want of proper fire implements such as engines, ladders, hooks, buckets, reservoirs for water, were all discovered when it was too late."

In a few hours one of the most pretentious residences in the whole village was reduced to ashes. Boudinot was a member of the New Jersey Supreme Court, a staunch and forceful patriot during the War for Independence and recognized as one of the leading men in the State. The house stood in what is now Park Place about 100 yards south of East Park street. Judge Boudinot rebuilt it, and this structure, long known as the Condit house, became the property of the Public Service Corporation in 1913. The destruction of its predecessor made a profound sensation, and marked the beginning of a new era for Newark, for the shock of it was sufficient to stir the townspeople to action. A few days after the Boudinot fire (the loss being a good-sized fortune for those days, between \$10,000 and \$15,000), a citizen suggested in the town newspaper an organization vaguely akin to the modern salvage corps. After lamenting the lack of fire-fighting facilities the writer roundly deplored the pilfering of goods salvaged at the Boudinot fire and advised that some of the respectable people form an association which should provide large sacks in which articles taken from a burning building might be placed and protected under guard until the excitement incidental to the conflagration should be over. The idea was not adopted, however.

FIRE COMPANIES; THE FIRST FIRE ENGINES.

A month later a Fire Association was formed at a mass-meeting in the Court House.⁴ The names of all the members (who were called associators) were arranged in a book, alphabetically.

A small board of assessors was chosen, whose duty it was "to make a just valuation or reprisal of the houses and dwellings of each associator, always taking into consideration the exposed situation of each property to fire; and to fix the amount opposite each name." When funds were needed the association would decide upon the amount and it was then the duty of the assessors to levy upon each associator for his share, an ingenious and ancient system, frequently used by the very founders of the town for other purposes of town improvement. The sum of \$1,000 was raised in a few weeks. Fire hooks, ladders and other apparatus was bought, and two fire engines were ordered from Philadelphia. It was not until nearly a year later, in January, 1798, that word came that the New Fire Association could have the first of the engines ordered "upon discharge of remaining sums." It was a clumsy little tank on wheels with long wooden bars fastened to an iron pumping gear. When in action men lined the bars on either side of the machine and pumped out the water which others poured into the tank from buckets, the water being thrown upon the flames through an iron or pipe.⁵

⁵ The officers chosen were: William P. Smith, president; John N. Cumming, vice president; Jesse Baldwin, secretary; Colonel Samuel Hay, treasurer; standing committee, James Hedden, Nathaniel Beach, W. S. Pennington, Robert C. Canfield, Samuel Whitaker, John P. Crane, Sr., Thomas Griffith; assessors, Nathaniel Camp, Caleb Wheeler, Abraham Ward; fire wardens, Caleb Bruen, Isaac Alling, Thomas Ward and Joseph Brown, Jr.

The first fire company was composed of the following: Captain Stephen Hays, foreman; Jabez Canfield, assistant foreman; Zephaniah Grant, treasurer; Isaac Andress, clerk. The others in the company were: Aaron Roff, Luther Goble, Ezra Baldwin, Calvin Goble, James Tichenor, David Cook, Silvanus Baldwin, Aaron Grummon, Elijah Andrus, Jonathan Andress, Israel Curry, Obadiah Woodruff, Samuel Nichols, Jabez Greger, John I. Crane, Jonathan Beach and Smith Burnet.

⁶ Hose is said to have been introduced in 1815, the year that the second fire company was formed. The third company was organized in 1819, and the fourth and fifth between 1830-1835. In 1838 there were seven fire engine companies, a hook and ladder company and a hose company. They were located as follows: Engine No. 1, near First Presbyterian Church; No. 2 at 4 New street; No. 3 in Hill street; No. 4 at 4 New street; No. 5 at 106 Market street (old style numbering); No. 6, Mulberry street, opposite Clinton; No. 7 at No. 9 Bridge street; Hook and Ladder, at 108 Market street; Hose company, at No. 106 Market street.

In April of that same year the people had a chance to use these engines. A barn on the Gouverneur estate at "Mount Pleasant" caught fire. Many of the "associators" who had been directed by the association to supply themselves with leather fire buckets either had not done so or in their excitement forgot to carry them to the fire. The little engines were trundled to the scene of the trouble at what are now Mount Pleasant avenue and Gouverneur streets. The bucket brigade formed a line from the Passaic, up the steep hill to where the engines were located near the barn. The scarcity of buckets made it impossible to keep the tanks supplied with water, the crew on the pumping bars being able to exhaust it faster than it was emptied in. The barn burned to the ground, but an adjacent dwelling was saved. The town credited itself with having been at least partly instrumental in saving the house, "The utility of our engines was obviously evinced," the town newspaper solemnly announced, and it then proceeded to scold the people for failure to provide themselves with buckets.

TOWN'S CENTRE A TINDER-BOX.

But the people had yet to learn the value of "eternal vigilance" in this business of fire protection. Interest in the infant fire department waned each summer and each winter roaring fireplaces did their baleful work. The village was now budding into a town—the inhabitants had already begun to give up the former word for the latter. Little ramshackle shops and mills were set up here and there and anywhere except in the very middle of the streets. Barns and stables were beginning to shoulder some of the less ambitious dwellings and many families lived over or in front of the rooms devoted to their shops. By 1805, the centre of Newark had become a veritable tinder-box. It needed the editorial whiplash to rouse it, and it was administered:

"Inhabitants of Newark," cried the newspaper on January 1, 1805, "reflect for a moment on the consequences should a fire take place on any thickly settled part of our town; destitute of the necessary means of extinguishment, with but one tolerable engine,

with no organized company and with few fire buckets, it would sweep all before it, not only destroying the property but endangering its victims. We would merely suggest for your consideration whether measures should not be taken immediately to guard against an evil so formidable."

SNOWBALLS AS FIRE EXTINGUISHERS.

The warning, although timely, was not heeded. The fires again began to scourge the town. Major Samuel Hays, (he who had served the cause of liberty so bravely and so well during the war, being associated with Joseph Hedden on the town's Committee of Safety) and his family were driven from their homes in their nightclothes within ten days of the editor's "call to arms."

"The want of a few fire buckets was manifestly evident on this occasion," says the newspaper, "but nobody had buckets to hand water for its extinguishment. We believe twenty could not have been counted. The consequence was the ludicrous sight of men snowballing a house to put out a fire."

After nearly every fire the townspeople were called upon to help the victims upon their feet again. They rallied generously to each other's aid. There were few among them so well provided with worldly goods that they did not face actual destitution when the fire-god feasted upon their homes or shops. The flames made serious ravages throughout the early months of 1805. More than one of the leading families of the town was saved from ruin at that time by the generosity of its neighbors. Appeals for aid frequently appeared in the town paper. This is quite characteristic of their general tenor:

"Will not the hand of benevolence generously extend on this occasion? Can we refuse our aid to the sufferers? Let everyone contribute his mite. * * * Will there be no efficient fire regulations adopted until some beautiful part of our town is laid in ashes?"

Another, after the destruction of the home and shop of an energetic young chap whose family name has since been frequently identified with the city's development was as follows:

"Mr. _____ is a young man of much industry and respectability and we sincerely hope the liberality of the public will in some measure make up the losses he has sustained by this unfortunate accident."

PUMP OWNERS SCOLDED.

In 1808 there seems to have been a general crusade for the equipment of wells with pumps. Hitherto most of the people had contented themselves with a rope-and-bucket arrangement or with the ancient and highly respectable well sweep, of the old-oaken-bucket order. This was all well enough for ordinary farm and household uses, but on the occasion of a fire, was of very little value. Many clumsy old wooden pumps were built by individuals and fixed in their wells. But they were soon allowed to get out of repair. In December, 1809, a public-spirited Newarker strove to rouse pump-owners to their duty, in a letter to the newspaper, which is in part as follows:

"Fellow Citizens: It is now a season of the year when it is not unreasonable to anticipate more or less fires in town. Not to guard against its ravages in time would be folly. Observation as well as prudence speaks to everyone to expect and to be prepared for conflagrations in the winter season in an especial manner.

"My object at present is to call the attention of my fellow townsmen to the situation of our Pumps. I can hardly conceive of a greater convenience and at the same time affording more security than the erection of so many Pumps, as now exist in various parts of the town. The public spirit as regarded this subject last winter and spring is beyond praise. These pumps must be kept in order. It is not enough that A. and B.'s is in good order while E.'s and D.'s is almost neglected. A fire is likely to happen with C. and D. as with A. and B. * * *

"We are well supplied with engines, but what use would these engines be unless water can be provided? In this water is the same as the ammunition wagon is to a train of artillery.

"How is it that the pump in the centre of Market street is in such very bad order? Have the citizens forgot this is a compact and most valuable part of the town, and that a fire here without water would carry dreadful destruction throughout the block? How is it that in the new well in Broad street no pump is put therein? Is this neighborhood all ensured, or are they sure others' property will be burnt while their's will escape?

"These hints are thrown out for the good of the town. I hope they will be improved; that under providence our beautiful and thriving town may not, like Norfolk, Richmond and Savanna in times back, become a heap of ruins.

"A Newark Freeholder."

THE FIRST FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

About the time of the pump agitation just described, Newark property owners began to realize that fire insurance was of sound, practical value. A few took out policies in a New York or a London company. In 1807 a stable in Market street, in the rear of Newark's leading tavern (Archer Gifford's, which stood at the northeast corner of Market and Broad streets) was burned. This was the first insured building to be burned in Newark. The prompt payment of the loss was a powerful object lesson, and it was driven home with force after each fire, for it was a long time before another insured building was burned. In 1809 the offices of the Centinel of Freedom, Newark's only newspaper at that time, was partly destroyed by fire and publication (it was printed weekly), had to be omitted for a week. The office was on Broad street, just north of the Gifford Inn.

In February, 1810, a mass-meeting was held "at early candle-lighting," in the Court house, when preliminary steps were taken to organize a fire insurance company among the citizens, on a mutual plan. It was purely a public—one may truly say a patriotic—measure, without the slightest thought of individual gain. The call for this meeting explained the plan, as follows:

"We are paying from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year for what insurance are now made in this little town, taking in Bloomfield (which but a few years before had been separated from Newark) into the insurance offices of New York and Great Britain, which, if we reckon for five years past, will be from \$8,000 to \$10,000. If we calculate the fires we have had where property has been insured, it will amount to \$2,500, leaving a balance of \$5,500 at least, to the insurers. * * * If we had a Mutual Insurance Company, almost all the buildings in the town would be insured, which would have made our premiums about \$4,000 a year instead of \$2,000. * * * The money we now pay for insurance is sent out of the State, and I might say, some of it across the Atlantic; therefore, if there

is any profit let us have it amongst ourselves. If there is none we shall be no worse off than we are now, for if one of our fellow citizens had his property destroyed by this fatal element, that is not insured, where is the man that is not willing to be a mutual helper in relieving his distress?

"Fellow citizens, this is not all; if we adopt the plan proposed we shall be as one man to have our Fire Engines, Buckets, Ladders, Hooks and other convenience for the extinguishment of fire when required. I think there now would not be that schism there now is with some of our citizens when solicited to pay a small sum for defraying the expense of the above-mentioned implements."

Aaron Munn was chairman of the meeting and James Vanderpool secretary. A committee of nine was chosen to "digest and report a plan for the establishment of a company for the above purpose." Those nine, whom we may call the real founders of the company, were: Isaac Andruss, Seth Woodruff, William S. Pennington, who was at that time an associate justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court and three years later was to be elected Governor; James Vanderpool, Elias Van Arsdale, Thomas Ward, Aaron Munn, Samuel Hays, Jr., Moses N. Combs. The latter was the real father of Newark's industries, and he had a masterful mind. It is quite possible that Combs wrote the call for the first meeting just quoted.

"When it is considered," said the newspaper in publishing the call for the meeting at which the officers were to be elected, "that the object of this association is merely with a view to alleviate the occasional distresses of one another, it is to be hoped that none will be found to withhold their names to an institution so laudable and benevolent, an institution so well adapted to the interest and safety and prosperity of the town."

They called it the Newark Mutual Assurance Company. It was the first fire insurance company in New Jersey, and it began business in April, 1810, about two months after the first mass meeting. Its secretary was Joseph C. Hornblower, then a young lawyer, but afterwards to become chief justice and one of the leading citizens. The company's business was at first done in Hornblower's office, and he did most of it for a short time. The company

was conducted with great shrewdness and care, and it prospered. It was reckoned as purely a town institution. No provision was made in the original charter, granted in 1811, for the disposition of any surplus that might accrue. Wise as the founders were, it never seems to have occurred to them that there would be any considerable sum which they would not need to use in strengthening the business and thus directly benefiting the town. In a supplement to the charter granted in 1827, provision was made for the payment of dividends, and thus the company began to take on the form and attributes of a money-making institution. It changed its name two or three times, and is now known as the Newark Fire Insurance Company. In its early years it contributed largely to the support of what fire department there was, and of course one of its chief benefits to the community as a whole was that it gradually relieved the people of contributing personally to recoup a neighbor who was ruined by fire. The institution was of invaluable service to Newark in those early days of its industrial growth.

NIGHT WATCH A POLICE FORCE.

The struggle to avert disaster by fire was largely instrumental in developing something like systematic surveillance of the town at night. At a meeting of the Newark Fire Association, February 13, 1797, it was announced that three hundred citizens had volunteered to join the Night Watch. These were promptly told off into squads of sixteen, one squad to serve throughout one night, each being called on in rotation. The instructions to the Night Watch, as laid down with considerable detail, were as follows:

“That they shall patroll every part of the town, silently, observing due order themselves, inspect into the cause of all lights appearing in any house or building at an unreasonable hour of the night; and in case a Fire should happen to break out, the patroll on duty shall immediately give notice first to the family, and then to those in the Watch House, sounding the alarm as they pass along. The key of the Church is to be kept by the different watches and one person of each watch is to be particularly appointed to ring the Bell in case of Fire.” The Night Watch was also directed to keep

an eye out for all disorderly persons, night prowlers, thieves, etc. If any such were found they were haled before the squad captain, who for the night was virtually chief of police. That functionary could lock up those so captured or let them go free, at his discretion.

"The patrols," said the instructions, "are to take up all persons found out at an unusual hour of the night and, in case they cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves, or if anything should appear suspicious about them, they are to be taken to the Watch House to be disposed of at the discretion of the captain.

"The captain of each watch shall make report in writing of every material thing passing under the observation of his patrols.
* * * No member of the watch is to go home until regularly dismissed by the captain."

PUBLIC EXECUTION OF MURDERERS.

There was practically little need of a police force of any sort until after the War for Independence. Previous to the war the town constable had usually been quite able to attend to all such melancholy business as might occur. The first robbery, for instance, on record occurred January 4, 1787, when thieves got into the post office on the southeast corner of Market and Broad streets, and walked off with the mail.

The first hanging of record, after the war, (a Continental soldier was executed in Newark during the war), occurred on May 6, 1791, when William Jones was hanged for killing Samuel Shotwell. It was made a public function of great solemnity. Services were held in the Presbyterian church, when the Rev. Uzal Ogden, of Trinity, preaching a sermon, "very happily adapted," said the town newspaper, "to the occasion, from Genesis, ix, 6: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'" Dr. Macwhorter gave an address at the scene of the hanging, and "the deportment of the criminal was decent under the jibbet."

In 1805, that rare genius, Moses Combs, concerning whom much more is told in the chapters on early industries and early schools, gave a slave named Harry Lawrence his freedom. Combs

was a vehement abolitionist and he resolved to practise what he preached. Unfortunately, the negro proved a miserable subject for the experiment, for, after threatening the life of Mrs. Combs, he killed his own wife. Lawrence was hanged with much ceremony on Oct. 8, 1805. The occasion was made a sort of solemn holiday. The militia of Newark and Orange assembled at the Court house and marched in procession with the townspeople, all escorting a cart in which the wretched prisoner was pinioned, to Military Park, where the negro was, according to the newspaper, "swung into eternity." After the noose was fixed, the cart was driven away and the man left dangling in the air. "During the march," says this ancient purveyor of news, "the scene was truly awful! The dragoons with their drawn swords, the foot with their glittering muskets and fixed bayonets—the slow and solemn beat of the drum and in the centre of whom was the negro dressed in white trowsers and jacket, a cap of the same on his head, a rope around his neck, and his own hand the bearer of the other part [of the rope]—was a sight at which humanity and sensibility could freely drop a tear." People climbed into the trees to get a good view of the fearful spectacle.

Newark dealt a trifle more gently with horse thieves after the war than before it, when death was sometimes the penalty for this offense. In June, 1793, a man named Pough, "said to be a refugee Tory half pay officer, sustained with manly fortitude, the discipline of the Cat for horse-stealing. He is to receive a like punishment at Springfield and Orange this week," announced the newspaper. It does not tell how many lashes of the rawhide were laid upon his bare back, but we may be sure they were neither few nor tenderly applied.

ORGANIZING AGAINST THIEVES.

Fruit thieves were abroad in Newark as early as 1794. The town was one great orchard at the time. In that year a fruit protective association was organized. Burglars became so bold in 1800, that, at a meeting of citizens in December, a committee of

thirteen was appointed to visit each housekeeper, weekly, "to inquire concerning all persons harbored there and to raise \$100, by subscription, to be expended in rewards for the apprehension of the villains." There was comparatively little crime in Newark, after all, during the first three decades of the last century. In 1834 there were but six watchmen and but four of these patrolled at one time.

CORPORATION GREED IN 1806.

The first manifestation of corporation greed appeared in 1806, when some shrewd citizen signing himself "Mechanic" complained in the newspaper that the stage companies were taking advantage of the improved roadway provided by the turnpike company (of which he was an officer), between Jersey City and the Hackensack. The stage companies had raised their rates, he said, but were contributing nothing to the expense of road building, beyond the sum always charged them. This says "Mechanic," is "flagrant extortion." A moderate estimate of the number of passengers, he says, is five passengers each way for each stage. The coach people, while paying twenty-five cents to the turnpike company for each stage load, were thereafter to ask \$1.00 additional for those five passengers. Assuming that each stage travels three hundred days a year, it would mean \$300 a year more for each stage, and there being four, the people (meaning the turnpike company, which conducted a public utility) were to be bamboozled out of \$1,200 a year.

"Is money to be extorted in this manner?" exclaims "Mechanic," "from the merchants and mechanics of this town. * * * It is time then for our citizens to awake from their delusion and exert their energies and destroy this extortion."

The owner of one stage line promptly announced, after this terse denunciation, that he would make no raise in his rates. Whether the others followed his example history does not tell. The incident is valuable simply because it shows that there were already abroad those who were quick to take advantage of the public whenever the opportunity offered, and that there were still

others equally alert to detect their schemes and to subject them to the light of "pitiless publicity."

COUNTY JAIL AND DEBTORS' PRISON.

The county jail, which served for Newark as well, was a long, two-story, stone structure, built about 1700. It stood just south of the town's second church building, that is, on the lower side of Branford place, or on the ground now occupied by that thoroughfare. The upper floor was used for the court rooms, and it was around and in this building that the land riots raged previous to the War for Independence, and where the meetings of the patriots were held for the purpose of organizing the community and the whole county for its fight against the Crown. It is quite probable that these court rooms were used as class rooms by the students of the College of New Jersey while it was located in Newark. When the present First Church was finished, in 1791, the old church building became the county court house. In the days of the founders the meeting house (the first church building to be set up here) was also used as a court house. It is believed that a small prison house or jail was provided in the very early days and that it stood adjacent to the meeting and court house, but exactly where it is impossible to tell.

The jail and court house erected, about 1700, was described in 1863 by a Newarker writing of his boyhood days of some sixty years previous, as having a kitchen at the south end. "The entire lower floor," says this writer, "was arched with passages. There were a few iron grated windows. The short-sentence prisoners were kept in rooms at one end of this lower floor, while the other end had dungeons for the more desperate criminals. The dungeons were dark and were separated from the rest of the building by iron doors. The debtors' prison was on the second floor, and after the second church building became a court house, the keeper of the prison and his family lived on the second floor.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE VILLAGE TAVERNS AND THEIR INFLUENCE—EMINENT
MEN IN NEWARK—WASHINGTON IRVING AND
“COCKLOFT HALL.”

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THE VILLAGE TAVERNS AND THEIR INFLUENCE—EMINENT MEN IN NEWARK.
WASHINGTON IRVING AND "COCKLOFT HALL."

THE business and social life of Newark at the close of the eighteenth century, and for two or three decades thereafter, focused around its inns or taverns. There the people could meet, exchange views and gather the gossip of the day, free from the restraints of the church or of the court house, which were the only other places for common assemblage. They could come when they wished and depart when they were ready. They could get closely in touch with their fellow men without ceremony, could see life in all the phases that the village afforded. The more or less constantly arriving and departing stage coaches (which always halted at the principal taverns for the discharge of passengers, the taking on and taking off of mail and the exchange of horses) were the telegraph, telephone, stock-ticker and wireless of the day. One did not have to wait for Sunday (when men, for generations, had been wont to gather before and after church in and about the horse sheds) to discuss matters of personal, local, county, State or national importance; nor did he have to possess himself in patience until the next session of court. At the inn he was quite certain to meet those who could satisfy his desire to learn what was going on in the world outside of his own narrow orbit.

Newark had had its public houses or "ordinaries" from 1670 or thereabouts, when, by virtual command of the Lords Proprietors, a place was provided for visitors in order, chiefly, that the representatives of the Governor and his counsel might have suitable shelter when on their visits throughout the colony. The first of these was on the northeast corner of Broad and Walnut streets, where Grace Episcopal Church now stands. We have no trace of its immediate successors, although it is probable they were, like the first, simply the home of some resident selected by the community to entertain strangers.

THE "RISING SUN," THE "EAGLE," AND OTHER INNS.

About the middle of the eighteenth century we read of the "Rising Sun" tavern, which stood about where River street and Canal street meet, on the, then, high road from Newark to New York, the "Old Ferry Road" as it was afterward called, and from which our present Ferry street derives its name. Travelers going to New York passed up or down Broad street to Market and then eastward to the ferry across the Passaic, over the meadows to the Hackensack and on over Bergen Hill to the inn at Paulus Hook, whence they took ferry to New York. The "Rising Sun" tavern, located as it was on a little eminence, commanded an extensive view of the river and bay and the country to the eastward. It was on both arteries of communication with the outside world—the road and the river. It seems to have been a famous place of entertainment in its time, but, unfortunately, the records of its day are exasperatingly meagre. We do know that under its roof the first lodge of Free Masons in New Jersey, St. John's, was organized.

In 1759 and probably for many years before, James Banks kept a tavern "fronting the great road leading to Elizabethtown." It was located upon what is now Clinton avenue, not far below Lincoln (South) Park. Banks had been a more or less prominent figure in the village from 1736. It is probable that he was at one time "mine host" of the "Rising Sun" and that he removed thither from Clinton avenue.

There was comparatively little need for taverns in Newark until just before the War for Independence, when the Old Ferry Road route to Paulus Hook had grown popular enough to be a modest competitor for traffic with the long ferry between New York and Elizabethtown. Then, we learn of a hostelry at what is now the north corner of Broad and William streets, the "Eagle Tavern," where Washington is believed to have stopped in November, 1776. There was an inn kept by a Capt. Pierson during the war. It may have been either the "Rising Sun," the "Eagle," or some other. The "Rising Sun" seems to have been continued after

the war began, until 1777, and possibly afterwards, although it was too close to the bay and lower river territory over which Tories and militia and occasional detachments of British and Hessians moved, to be a comfortable place of entertainment. It was reopened afterwards, if it closed at all. James Banks continued as innkeeper until 1771, when he made the following announcement in the newspapers:

"As I intend to leave off publick-houskeeping soon, I will dispose of, at private sale, the house and lot of ground whereon I now live; its advantageous situation for publick business is well known to be as good as any between Powles Hook and Philadelphia, being the county town; a large house, convenient rooms, a good cellar, and a fine large stable in the yard, an excellent kitchen garden adjoining it; is likewise suitable for a gentleman's seat, or for a merchant, being in the centre of the town."

This was, in all probability the "Rising Sun." Newark's first directory in its first issue, 1835-6, gives it as one of the hotels and its keeper as O. Dickerson. This was probably a revival of the old house and does not indicate that its existence had been continuous. It had been unheard of in the public prints for generations. Indeed, it disappears from the directory a year or so after the first issue.

Another of Newark's old inns was that kept by Capt. Jabez Parkhurst, starting shortly after the War for Independence. It stood on the west side of Broad street, was the fourth structure south from Market street, just north of the County Court House and previous to 1791 the First Church, the immediate predecessor of the one now standing (1913) across the street. Capt. Parkhurst was a man of high standing in the community, and a school building on the little plot just west of Lincoln Park was erected chiefly through his efforts. In 1796 he offered his hostelry for sale, announcing that it had a good stable, "well with pump which conveys water to a convenient bathing house," the first in Newark of which there is any mention, "and from thence to trough for horses. A cistern near stable, within 6 feet of kitchen door, with a pump for its convenience." The house had a frontage of 52 feet, was 34 feet in depth, and contained 14 rooms. The stable and yard into which some of the big New York-Philadelphia coaches rolled to

exchange their tired and steaming horses for fresh ones and to leave and take up passengers, abutted upon the old Burying Ground. The windows of the tavern's barroom looked out upon the tombstones.

This inn was acquired by Stephen Roff, probably at the sale of 1796, by Parkhurst. Early in the first decade of the 1800's it was run by Nathaniel Seabury. In 1808 and afterwards Johnson Tuttle presided over it. In the 1830's it was conducted by D. D. Chandler. The old Eagle Tavern, on the corner of Broad and William streets, was kept, shortly after the war, by a Major Sayres. Nathaniel Seabury, already mentioned as one time owner of the inn about opposite Mechanic street (Parkhurst's), took the Eagle after Sayres and enlarged it with kitchen, new stables, etc. In 1803 a third story was added to the tavern and the county courts were held there for a short time while the court house and jail on the site of the present Grace Episcopal church was being erected. About that time the property was acquired by a member of the Roff family, of the name of Moses.

These inns on the west side of Broad street added materially to the desecration of the Old Burying Ground. Refuse was thrown out upon the graves; cooks and scullions sharpened their knives upon the stones. Those were crude and unsentimental days.

In 1803 Stephen Halsey kept a tavern in a building about where the Broad street station of the Central Railroad stands. "The best worn path across the entire length of Broad street," naively remarked a writer in telling of the days of 1800 and thereabouts, "ran from Halsey's tavern to Roff's," at Broad and William streets. Shortly after the bridge over the Passaic was put in operation, an inn was set up on the north corner of what are now Bridge and Broad streets, but it never acquired the fame or the popularity of those huddled about the Four Corners. It was not until the turnpikes were built running southwest and northwest from Market street, at what is now the Court house triangle, that inns were set up in Market street, unless we except Gifford's tavern, which stood on the northeast corner of the town's main highways.

ARCHER GIFFORD'S TAVERN.

Gifford's was by far the most popular inn in Newark, from the early 1790's and for a period of nearly twenty years. It possessed a famous "Long Room," apparently fronting on Broad street, where all of the public gatherings not conducted in the churches, the Academy, or the Court house, were held. It was the royal place for feasting at times of popular celebration. Distinguished transient visitors stopped there and held receptions in the Long Room. For a long time all the mail and other stages swung noisily into Market street and thence to Gifford's stables, just east of the inn. On the corner was the inn sign, swinging from a post, bearing the tavern name, "The Hounds and Horn," and with a painting depicting the end of a fox hunt. There were hunters on horseback, one of them holding up the fox above a pack of hounds. It was the most ambitious work of art in Newark for many a day.

It is believed that the very beginning of Newark's business with the South, which had assumed proportions of great magnitude at the outbreak of the Civil War, was brought about in that inn. A traveler from the South in the 1790's, who rested at Gifford's, noticed that there were shoe factories in the village, and questioned Archer Gifford, the genial innkeeper, about them. Gifford is said to have given a glowing account of the excellence of the shoes made by Moses N. Combs and of the honorable character of Combs. He directed the traveler to Combs' little shop on the south side of Market street, about where Plane street now is. Presently Combs was shipping shoes to the South, and other local makers were soon doing the same.

Gifford's tavern was famous the country 'round for its good cheer. Its dinners were the talk of the whole countryside. In 1800 Gifford was accustomed to advertise for live quail, offering six cents apiece, no doubt to supply his table with the daintiest the neighborhood afforded. President John Adams stopped at Gifford's tavern on one if not two occasions. Many other of the country's notables were entertained there also. It was a headquarters for the local companies of militia, who did all their drilling out of doors,

and who always concluded muster with a feast at Gifford's. He was a man of high respectability and reckoned as one of the most public-spirited men in the town. He was an uncle of Archer Gifford, one of Newark's most eminent lawyers. The tavern was burned down in the early 1830's. Mr. John A. Gifford, a descendant of Archer Gifford, the lawyer, told the writer (in 1913) that he was taken down to the "Four Corners" when a little boy to see the old tavern burn.

NEWARK AS A MARKET CENTRE.

The increase in hostelrys shortly after the War for Independence was by no means due to rapid growth on the part of Newark's population, but to the building of the bridges across the Passaic and Hackensack rivers, and to the easy water communication between the town and New York. The bridges made the stage lines possible, and the Passaic, Newark Bay and the Kill van Kull furnished comparatively inexpensive transportation facilities for the market produce of Newark and all the surrounding towns to the big city on Manhattan Island. Newark, West Hudson and Essex County farmers could ill afford to transport their wares to New York, so the merchants of that city found it a good investment to come here to Newark, buy farm products and ship them by the swiftest and safest vessels of the time, the periaugers (broad-beamed, light-draught sailing craft).

So it came about that the farmers from the "back country" swarmed into Newark on certain days, lined the streets with their carts, and, after they were sold out, flocked about the taverns and made bustle and business all around the centre of the thriving little town. Now it was (in the last decade of the eighteenth century) that Market street got its name. Previous to that period it had had none, being sometimes mentioned as "the East and West street," to distinguish it from "the three other chief highways," "the Broad street," "the West Back street," Washington, and the "East Back street," Mulberry. Market street led directly down to the water, by the old Ferry road, where the periaugers waited to take the farm produce to New York.

The town now began to feel the need of a market of its own. The street curbs, and the parks (South or Lincoln, Military and Washington) did well enough for the farmers and buyers from New York in mild weather, but shelter was needed at other times. So, in 1794, a committee of five was chosen at town meeting to provide for a market house. It was composed of Isaac Alling, Samuel Hays, Nathaniel Beach, David Crane and John Pintard. A building was promptly erected, on the south side of Market street, about sixty feet east of Halsey street. It was a two-story stone affair, with two stalls on the ground floor. It was opened in May, 1795. It was a tiny structure, indeed, this first Newark market building, but 20 feet square. On the second floor, a Mrs. Conger, wife of a tallow chandler, conducted a free school.

Hither the people of the town who did not raise their own vegetables and keep their own cattle and fowls, came to do their marketing. In 1800 they could buy the best cuts of meat for from 6 to 8 cents a pound. The stall keepers had two or three carts which supplied the outlying districts of the town. The town prided itself on being a market centre and the town newspaper strove to encourage development along that line. Every time an unusually large ox or huge pumpkin was brought to the market the paper announced it with much enthusiasm. In January, 1795, Aaron Munn strode proudly into Market street, leading an ox fattened by Obadiah Meeker that weighed 1,500 pounds. "The ox," says the newspaper, "was the largest and made perhaps the best beef ever brought to this market. We have on this occasion been thus particular, wishing that it might create a spirit of emulation and improvement among our fellow citizens, as nothing but this will tend to raise the reputation of the market."

But the dream of Newark's citizens of building up a great market centre passed into thin air, when, in July, 1812, the first of the Fulton steam ferryboats began to run between Jersey City and New York. A number of Newarkers, by the way, who were financially interested in the development of Jersey City, were also directly concerned in this ferryboat venture, and it was no doubt

one of them who wrote the following, which appeared in the Newark Centinel of Freedom on July 21, 1812: "I crossed the North River yesterday in the Steam Boat with my family in my carriage, without alighting therefrom, in 14 minutes, with an immense crowd of passengers. I cannot express to you how much the public mind appeared to be gratified at finding so large and so safe a machine going so well. On both shores were thousands of people viewing this pleasing object."¹

The bells and whistles of that ferryboat sounded the knell of Newark's aspirations for a market metropolis here. It was soon found much easier, safer and less expensive for the farmers of Essex and West Hudson or the buyers from New York to drive across the two bridges and the meadows to the steam ferry than to load wagons or produce on the periaugers at Newark. This was the virtual beginning of carting and trucking across the meadows.

BUSINESS GROWS AT "FOUR CORNERS."

However, the market era had served to develop the neighborhood of Market and Broad streets as a business centre. For a little before the War for Independence much of the town's business had been done where the mill brook crossed Broad street, at the junction of Broad and Belleville avenue. There had been two or three stores, the members of the Camp family being large owners. It was hither that the stone from the quarries just west and northwest was brought to be loaded on boats at the "stone dock" a little below the foot of Clay street. The grist mills on the brook, a short distance west of Broad street and Belleville avenue, attracted the people from the outlying communities. The stone dock also furnished facilities for shipping farm products to New York. After the war, however, a change came gradually. The bridge at Bridge street diverted much business from the mill brook section. The opening of the turnpikes from the western terminus of Market street proved another powerful influence to focus business at and

¹ See note, "The Fulton Ferryboats," at end of this chapter.

near the "Four Corners." The stage coach traffic also served to leave the uptown centre out of the running. The only inn north of Market and Broad streets, after Gifford's tavern, was that at Bridge street, already mentioned. From 1790 the supremacy of the "Four Corners" was established.

By 1800, both sides of Broad street, from what is now Canal street to William street, were quite closely built upon, with two or two and one-half story frame buildings for the most part, and now and then a little one-story structure in which some citizen plied his trade or kept his store and lived in the rear. There were stores for the sale of general merchandise on three of the "Four Corners" in 1800, Gifford's tavern occupying the other. South of William street and north of Canal street the intervals between the buildings, most of them residences, became wider. Orchards filled generous spaces to the rear and often on either side. A block or so east and west there were small farms with only an occasional farmhouse here and there.

WHEN DAUGHTERS OF OLD FAMILIES DROVE COWS.

The town was to lose the appearance of a farming village slowly. As late as 1800 and for nearly a decade thereafter, there were few families that did not keep at least one cow; grazing space was readily and cheaply to be had, if not on one's own premises on the stretches of open country but a few hundred yards away. It was part of the morning and evening "chores" of every boy and girl to drive the cows to and from pasture. "I can at this moment," wrote an old Newarker in 1863, speaking of the 1800 period, "name some old ladies whom I have seen in their girlhood days driving their cows to and from pasture, who felt a pride in telling their children of the necessary duties which were incumbent upon them in their youth, whilst others who were notorious for their almost constant affiliation with the occupants of the barnyard, will now effect as much terror at a cow as they do of a tiger escaped from a menagerie."

MAKING LOVE BY ACROSTIC.

Although it called itself a town, Newark was really a village still. Everybody in it knew everybody else. When a young man became enamored of a young lady he often poured forth his affection in verse, quite frequently in the form of an acrostic. He presented the acrostic in the town newspaper one week, and left the whole community to guess whom he sought to honor, and a week or so later answers would appear. Here is a capital illustration:

AN ACROSTICAL REBUS, TO MISS —————.

One of the four seasons, if that is first nam'd.
 Then an insect for thought and economy fam'd.
 A beast whose true courage makes all others fear;
 Another admired for its beautiful hair.
 The name of a state in the united fifteen.
 A sweet-smelling flower, that in garden is seen.
 A bird whose fine feathers the ladies adorn.
 That beautiful light which enlivens the morn.
 That place poets tell us where Venus was born.

* * *

If now by attention or art you reveal,
 The sense of each line I so slightly conceal;
 Write down the initials distinctly and clear,
 The name of a handsome young maid will appear.
 So good and so lovely, so charmingly fair,
 She's what many others do wish that they were.

J. A. P.

Three answers, in meter, were given two weeks later. One of them follows:

The Summer's the season designed to be nam'd.
 The Ant is for thought and economy fam'd.
 The Lyon keeps all other creatures in fear.
 The Leopard's esteemed for his beautiful hair.
 New York is the State in the united fifteen.

* * *

And the Rose the fine flower which in gardens is seen.
 The Plumes of the Ostrich the ladies adorn.
 The Sun's glorious light paints the blushes of morn.
 And the Sea is the place where fair Venus was born.
 Sally Ross is the charming young lady so gay,
 Whose face I ne'er saw and perhaps never may.

I. S. M.³

³ From Wood's Newark Gazette and Paterson Advertiser, Nov. 27, 1794.

The bitterness engendered during the war, between Whig and Tory, cropped out occasionally in the local newspapers for many a year after the conflict was ended. In 1793 a local print published the following from the pen of some Newark versifier:

The name of a poisonous creature in wells,
And the dull, despised bird that in solitude dwells,
With the name we affix to a knave and a cheat,
And that of a puppy when kicked, will complete
The initials will tell the name of a creature,
The vilest, most hateful and wicked in nature.

The following week came the solution, no doubt written by the master mind that created the puzzle:

A Toad is a creature found sometimes in wells.
The Owl is a bird that in solitude dwells.
A Rascal we call, or a knave, or a cheat.
And Yap is a name for dogs little or great.
The initials arrange, and soon you'll complete
The name of a Tory, both hateful and vile.

In 1800, Newark, meaning about the same area it now covers, had 1,200 or 1,500 inhabitants, Essex County (far larger than at present) about 22,000, and New Jersey about 184,000. Newark's growth in population really began as the new century started.

DISTINGUISHED SOJOURNERS.

Men of eminence were infatuated with its attractiveness and for longer or shorter periods made their homes here. Peter J. Van Berkel, minister plenipotentiary to the United States from Holland, abode here for several years, from the early 1790's. He died here in December, 1800, and was laid to rest in the First Church Cemetery in the plot of John Burnet, where his tombstone may still (1913) be seen. He lived on the west side of Broad street, just north of where the South Baptist Church now stands.

A number of distinguished Frenchmen, driven from home because of the sad state of affairs there, took up residence here in the early 1790's. One of these wrote to a friend that Newark was quite a lively little town, and that the passing and repassing of several stage coaches every day made it at times quite gay.

Talleyrand, Charles Maurice, Prince de Talleyrand-Perigord, lived for several months on Broad street, about opposite William street, in a little two-story frame structure, part of the lower floor of which was given over to Alling's chair manufactory. There he probably did some of the preliminary work upon his essay, subsequently published in France: "Une Memoire sur les relations Commerciales des Etats Unis vers 1797."

There were suspicions that Talleyrand had been sent to this country on a mission which boded no good to America. Alexander Hamilton, who knew Talleyrand while he was living in New York after his removal from Newark, grew to believe that the polished visitor was a more or less dangerous personage to have in the country. According to a writer in the Newark Daily Advertiser (Oct. 27, 1863) Hamilton published his doubts as to Talleyrand's openness of purpose, and the latter presently left these shores.

Francois Rene Auguste, Viscount de Chateaubriand, one of the most brilliant writers of his time, is said to have been a Newarker at about the same time with Talleyrand, but no confirmation of this has so far been found. One of the brothers of the poet Keats is also said to have stopped in Newark for a time, and some of the biographers of the poet Shelley assert that his grandfather, Sir Bysshe Shelley, was a Newarker by birth and a quack doctor here in the 1750's. Researches made quite recently tend to disturb the reliability of the Shelley incident, however.* Members of a Shelley family lived here, however, as, about 1854, the tombstone of a John Shelley, who died in 1728, was unearthed in the Old Burying Ground.

TOWN OF NEWARK, "PERHAPS HANDSOMEST IN THE WORLD."

In 1796, Harman Blennerhasset, an Englishman of ancient lineage, cultured and gifted in various ways, but under the ban of social ostracism because he had married his sister's daughter,

* See Richard H. Stoddard's Anecdote Biography of Percy Bysshe Shelly, preface, page 14. Also Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society, Third Series, vol. 1, pp. 34-35.

came to America and subsequently became involved in the intrigues of which Aaron Burr, Newark-born, a son of the gifted Dr. Aaron Burr, was the creator. Burr's schemes for a southwestern empire cast a spell over the imaginative Blennerhasset, and he is said to have been promised the ambassadorship to England, once the new country were established. He was twice tried for treason, but was acquitted. Later he returned to England and died on the island of Guernsey in 1854. He was in Newark in 1796, and wrote enthusiastically of it in a letter, as follows:

"Newark possessed sufficient attractions within itself to induce me to tarry there for several days, even if I had not resolved to do so far the sake of visiting Passaic Falls, about fifteen miles off the main road. Newark, if considered as a village, which it more exactly nearly resembles than a town, is perhaps the handsomest in the world. Of extent nearly three miles, it is seated in a plain, clear and level as a parlor floor, on the banks of the Passaic by gently swelling hills. Its academy, court-house and two neat buildings for public worship, added to nine stages, which, beside an infinity of wagons, pass through it every day, give an air of business and gaiety to the place. It is also the residence of many private families of respectability, with some of whom we were previously well enough acquainted to be entertained longer than we chose to remain."

WASHINGTON IRVING HERE.

But it was not alone the cultured foreigner who discerned the beauties of the little village by the lower Passaic. Washington Irving, often called the founder of American literature, knew Newark and loved it, especially that portion which overlooks the Passaic from the Mount Pleasant and Belleville avenue region. There, at what is now Mount Pleasant avenue and Gouverneur street, stood the comfortable estate of "Mount Pleasant," the property of the then late Isaac Gouverneur and which had descended to a friend of Irving's, Gouverneur Kemble. To the young Kembles, Irving, his brother Pierre, Henry Ogden, Henry Brevoort, a popular young writer; James K. Paulding and a few others, this charming spot was a haven of refuge from their toils and struggles in New York. Irving and Paulding dubbed it "Cockloft Hall," and

in the Salmagundi papers, for which they were directly responsible, Irving mentions it frequently. In 1807 and for some time thereafter, Irving was a frequent visitor there, making his way thither by way of Paulus Hook ferry and thence by stage across the Hackensack and Passaic, often lingering for a time at Gifford's tavern, either going or coming.

In the fourth of the Salmagundi papers, under the caption of "Memorandums for a Tour," to be entitled, "The Stranger in New Jersey," he wrote:

"Newark—Noted for its fine breed of fat mosquitoes, sting through the thickest boot; Archer Gifford and his man Caliban, jolly fat fellows; a knowing traveller always judges everything by the innkeepers and waiters; set down Newark people all fat as butter; learned dissertations on Archer Gifford's green coat, with philosophical reasons why the Newarkites wear red worsted nightcaps and turn their noses to the south when the wind blows; Newark Academy full of windows; sunshine excellent to make little boys grow."

COCKLOFT HALL.

If you read the Salmagundi papers closely you are pretty certain to arrive at the conclusion that Cockloft Hall was constantly in Irving's thoughts, in 1807, and thereabouts. Here is a characteristic passage from these papers:

"Those who pass their time immured in the smoky circumference of the city, amid the rattling of carts, the brawling of the multitude, and the variety of unmeaning and discordant sound that prey insensibly upon the nerves and beget a weariness of the spirits, can alone understand and feel that expansion of the heart, that physical renovation which a citizen experiences when he steals forth from his dusty prison to breathe the free air of heaven and to enjoy the clear face of nature.

"Who that has rambled by the side of one of our majestic rivers at the hour of sunset, when the wildly romantic scenery around is softened and tinted by the voluptuous mist of evening; when the bold and swelling outlines of the distant mountain seem melting into the glowing horizon and a rich mantle of refulgence is thrown over the whole expanse of the heavens, but must have felt how abundant is nature in sources of pure enjoyment; how luxuriant in all that can enliven the senses or delight the imagination. The jocund zephyr, full freighted with native fragrance,

sues sweetly to the senses; the chirping of the thousand varieties of insects with which our woodlands abound, forms a concert of simple melody; even the barking of the farm dog, the lowing of the cattle, the tinkling of their bells, and the stroke of the woodman's axe from the opposite shore, seem to partake of the softness of the scene and fall tunefully upon the ear; while the voice of the villager, chanting some rustic ballad, swells from a distance in the semblance of the very music of harmonious love."

And this little rhapsody, so suggestive of Grey's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," was unmistakably inspired by the author's love for the Cockloft Hall region, the neighborhood now covered with closely huddled dwellings, with great mills near at hand, and a clamorous railroad on the edge of the erstime crystalline river—Mt. Pleasant avenue and Gouverneur street.

"At such time," Irving continues, "I feel a sensation of sweet tranquility; a hallowed calm is diffused over my senses; I cast my eyes around, and every object is serene, simple and beautiful. * * * A whole legion of reflections like these insinuated themselves into my mind, and stole me from the influence of the cold realities before me as I took my accustomed walk, on the battery. * * * I all at once discovered that it was but to pack my portmanteau, bid adieu for awhile to my elbow chair, and in a little time I should be transported from the region of smoke and noise and dust, to the enjoyment of a far sweeter prospect and a brighter sky. The next morning I was off full tilt to Cockloft Hall, leaving my man Pompey to follow at his leisure with my baggage."

In another of the Salmagundi papers he tells of watching the gathering of night from a "high hill" not far from Cockloft Hall, in which the Mt. Prospect avenue region is undoubtedly meant.

Isaac Gouverneur was one of Newark's most generous and public-spirited residents. He was always active in whatever movement for the community's uplift might be afoot. He died in 1794 in September, when the town newspaper published the following:

"Died, the 25th ultimo, at Mount Pleasant, Isaac Gouverneur, Esq., in the seventy-third year of his age. This gentleman was for many years an eminent merchant of Curacao. After he returned to his native country, he continued a short time in New York and then retired to his seat in this town. He was possessed of a great goodness of heart, the strictest integrity, a high sense

of honor, distinguished generosity, humanity and benevolence, which with many other virtues and amiable qualities, and his affable and polite manners, greatly endeared him to all who had the happiness of his acquaintance. His death is universally regretted, and must be regarded as a loss to our country in general and particularly to the academy, of which he was one of the governors, and to this institution he was a liberal benefactor."

It is probable that Mr. Gouverneur came to Newark a short time after the War for Independence, and it is possible that Mount Pleasant was, previous to the war, the estate of Captain James Gray, who in the late 1760's had an iron works at Little Falls, on the bank of the Passaic, where a dam had, even before that year, been constructed to provide water power. In 1768 and '69, Captain Gray offered his Newark estate for sale, as an advertisement of the time, given in Chapter XI of this work, sets forth.

If this was not the estate that later became Mount Pleasant it must have been the property that was to become the Kearny place, on part of which the State Normal School stands. The Normal School is directly opposite Kearny Castle, built just previous to the Civil War by General Philip Kearny. This building stands where the manor of Peterborough stood long before it, so named at the time Colonel Peter Schuyler erected his mansion there in the 1740s or '50s. Colonel Schuyler was a brilliant figure in the history of the Province of New Jersey during the French and Indian wars. Peterborough was reckoned as being in Newark (although in what was then Bergen county), as indeed was the entire ridge now known as Arlington and Kearny.

Colonel Schuyler left but one child, a daughter, Mary, who married Captain Archibald Kennedy, at one time an efficient officer of the British navy. He kept Peterborough as his country place after Colonel Schuyler died, and for his city home erected a substantial mansion at 1 Broadway, New York. After the death of his first wife, Mary Schuyler, he married Miss Nancy Watts, daughter of John Watts, of New York City, "a young lady," as the wedding notice runs, "of great merit and with a handsome fortune." This was in May, 1769. The Kearnys were related to

the Kennedys through the Watts connection, and Captain Kennedy was General Philip Kearny's great-uncle. The first Philip Kearny to live in Newark, and where the State Normal School stands, was General Kearny's great-grandfather. It is possible, in view of the facts just presented, that the Captain Gray estate was purchased by the original Newark Philip Kearny and that Isaac Gouverneur purchased part of it for his Mount Pleasant.

Isaac Gouverneur was what we of to-day love to call a "gentleman of the old school," and it was retired merchants and others of his type who, before and shortly after the War for Independence, were looking for pleasant estates in or near Newark to which they could retire permanently, or temporarily if they chose, from the city of New York. In these old manor house owners we find the genesis of the commuter.

The "Nine Worthies," or the "Lads of Kilkenny," as they sometimes called themselves, were quite free from all restraints and conventionalities when at Cockloft Hall. The place was left in charge of an old darkey, Pompey, and his wife, and was only thrown open when these happy spirits assembled there to enjoy themselves. It was, in effect, their country club. There was fine fishing in the river and good hunting in the woods to the north and west of them.

"Upon this place," explained William A. Whitehead in an article written many years ago, "was a quaint, elaborate and elegant summer house, which had been built by one of the Gouverneurs, and near by was a fish pond which the same eccentric owner had constructed at considerable cost, although the river, teeming with fish (in his day), was only a few rods away.

"It was this summer house and pond which Irving used to illustrate the peculiarities of the mythical Cockloft, otherwise one of the Gouverneurs. 'An odd notion of the old gentleman,' says the author, 'was to blow up a large bed of rocks for the purpose of having a fish pond, although the river ran at a distance of about a hundred yards from the house and was well stored with fish; but there was nothing, he said, like having things to one's self.

And he would have a summer house built on the margin of the pond; he would have it surrounded with elms and willows, and he would have a cellar dug under it for some incomprehensible purpose, which remains a secret to this day.' "

Washington Irving did not always stick to the very letter of historic fact in his writings, and it is possible that he did not do old Isaac Gouverneur entire justice when he described his building a pond on his premises as a whim. The so-called fish pond may not have been a fish pond at all, when the Gouverneurs first came to Mount Pleasant, but a pond for the storage of water, partly for fire-fighting purposes, in the days before fire engines in this section of the country were thought of. It is a significant fact, too, that in the account of the burning of the Gouverneur barn, already given in Chapter XVIII, the old newspaper did not mention this fish pond, from which the bucket line would undoubtedly have been formed, instead of down the steep slope of the river. This leads us to think that either the fish pond was not built until after 1798, and therefore not by old "Cockloft," but by one of the family coming after him; or else it was out of commission, for some reason or another, at the time of the barn fire.

PASSING OF THE SUMMER HOUSE.

The summer house remained until about the time of the Civil War, when it had to be removed to make room for a new street (Passaic). John P. Wakeman, one of the later owners of the property, bought the materials of which the summer house was made and tried to get others to co-operate with him for its restoration on some other spot, but without result. He finally used the lumber in a carriage house, which afterward became a dwelling, in Ogden street, between Gouverneur street and Fourth avenue. The picture of it given in this chapter is taken from a copy of a sketch made in 1859 by William A. Whitehead.

The summer house "was octagonal in shape," wrote Mr. Whitehead, "about eighteen feet in diameter, containing only one apartment, with a door facing the river on the east, and having windows

opening to each of the three other cardinal points. It was built of stone (Dutch brick), and had been originally weather-boarded, although most of the boards had (in 1859) fallen off.

"It had evidently been constructed with great care, being fully plastered within and papered, having an ornamental cornice and chair-board, an arched doorway and cut stone steps, all indicating a fastidiousness of finish not ordinarily found elsewhere than in dwellings; but it was far gone toward utter ruin, the window sashes being all out."

Cockloft (meaning, of course, Isaac Gouverneur) was, according to Washington Irving, "determined to have all of his views on his own land and be beholden to no man for a prospect. So he placed, you see, the door of his summer house on the side toward the water, while the windows all looked inland." The summer house was the scene of the "Nine Worthies'" feasting and much of their frolicking. They no doubt made use of its cellar to store their wines.

"With Newark," wrote Washington Irving in a letter to a friend, near the end of his life, "are associated in my mind many pleasant recollections of early days and of social meetings at an old mansion on the banks of the Passaic."

Cockloft Hall passed out of the Kemble family about 1824. A comparison of the two pictures of the house given in this chapter will serve to indicate the marked changes made in the structure in the last sixty or seventy years, previous to 1913, and it is probable that the original "Mount Pleasant" was very much as we see it in the older picture. In itself, Cockloft Hall stands quite typical of the homes of Newark's most influential families of a century back; while, behind it, one may say, and but dimly descried down the long vista of years, lies the era when both banks of the Passaic were a series of comfortable farms, with groves and gardens and occasional parks for deer, with coaches and "chairs" moving with stately dignity along the few winding roadways, and the boats and barges of the lords of the manors floating upon the surface of the crystal-clear stream; with sheep grazing on the hillocks and the lowing of cattle sounding musically across the quiet waters.

Late in 1911, the Century Company of New York published a highly entertaining novel by Mary Dillon, entitled "Miss Livingston's Companion," in which the greater part of two chapters is devoted to fictitious goings on at Cockloft Hall. The time is the beginning of the last century, and some of the characters are the same "Nine Worthies."

It was amid scenes such as Mount Pleasant afforded and with an environment closely similar to that along the Passaic before the War for Independence that the leaders of the country in its early days were nurtured. Petersborough, across the river in Kearny, already described, brought forth Colonel Peter Schuyler, New Jersey's first military leader. At Petersborough Captain Kennedy, who won honor fighting for the king before the War for Independence, abode. On the Kearny estate on this side of the river Major General Philip Kearny passed part of his boyhood, and in his later life sought to restore the traditions and the spirit of old Petersborough in his own "Kearny Castle," reared on the self-same ground, and from whose gates his body was borne after his fall at Chantilly, Va., in 1862. One might almost say that the ancient order of things on the Passaic's banks, the brave days of strong men and fearless leaders, living in something akin to old knightly grandeur, passed out and away with Kearny's battle-worn body. His "Castle" still stands as a mute monument of the past, while on this side of the river we still have Cockloft Hall, the last late link connecting us with the manor house days; much changed since the days when that kindly and public-spirited gentleman, Isaac Gouverneur, knew it; shut in and pent up, stripped of its broad acres, its quaint summer house, its pond, its groves, its flock of sheep and its herds of cattle.

The property was purchased in the late 1850's by the late Winslow Whiting, it having had but three or four owners from the time of Isaac Gouverneur. The Whitings preserved the house with scrupulous care, about as it came to them. The interior, in its room arrangement, remains (1913) much the same as in



SETH BOYDEN

COCKLOFT HALL AND THE
SUMMER HOUSE
As they were in the 1850's



COCKLOFT HALL IN 1913

Irving's day. Miss Mary R. Whiting, the last of the immediate family, died in 1912, and in 1913 the property was purchased by Edward M. Waldron.

FRENCH INFLUENCE IN NEWARK.

Beside the French refugees of distinction mentioned earlier in this chapter, who found their way to Newark in those awful days when the old monarchy in France was in its death throes, there were many others of humbler pretensions. In Elizabeth there grew up a large French colony, including several of the nobility, but few of their class resided for any considerable time in Newark. Those who made this town their homes strove to make their livelihood in the ways for which they were best fitted. Newark's first dancing school was formed in 1794, when one of these exiles from "la Belle France," Mr. Dillion (or Dillon) "presents his compliments to the ladies and gentlemen of Newark" and announces the opening of classes in dancing at the new Academy. He taught "Cotillions, the Almada, Larues, Classets; plain Minuet with a Paugrau Balance, Coupet, Paragranade and Minuet de la Cour; Gavot, Countrydance, Stage hornpipe, etc. All which he will engage to teach in the newest and most fashionable mode."

Peter Proal, another Frenchman, taught French in the Academy building, in 1795, on the top floor, adjoining the rooms of St. John's Lodge. E. Donfier, "recently from Paris," taught architecture in 1800, having his rooms in the residence of John Pintard. In 1795 R. Capron offered his "Forte Piano" for sale. In 1800 exhibitions of wax works were occasionally shown in Gifford's tavern, "Admission 25 cents, children, half price," and it is reasonably safe to assume that these displays were the creation of some ingenious Frenchman. The French brought a new and in many ways desirable influence into the life of the sober little community. One sees too the spirit of the times

as they were in France, reflected in the town newspaper, which often referred to some neighbor as "Citizen" So-and-So. The polished strangers did their full part in the making over of Newark, which was now to proceed rapidly.

One of the wax works exhibitions at Gifford's, in 1805, showed Hamilton and Burr in the act of fighting the duel at Hoboken, in which the former lost his life. It also had Washington, Columbus, America, and a "Grecian maid nourishing her father in Prison." The advertisement concludes thus ingenuously: "The above figures are new and allowed to be striking likenesses."

The Irish began to appear in Newark in the late 1790's. Lists of uncalled-for letters were advertised in the newspapers as early as 1798, and often contained Irish names. In 1800, Miss Kitty Crowley of Newark was married here to James Connors of Philadelphia, by the Rev. Mr. O'Brien of New York. A Scotchman, of the name of McElheran, kept a store here, in 1787, but for a very few years only.

Itinerant tailors began to wander to Newark and thus out into the country, as early as 1790, as shoemakers had done for a century and over. Newark's first auction room was conducted in Parkhurst's Inn in 1795. Peddlers were common in 1800 and several complaints found their way into the newspapers, of how these shrewd travelers were fooling the people throughout Essex county, selling them "brass things for gold." In 1806 someone wrote a solemn essay for the paper, proposing a bill for the Legislature that would prohibit peddlers from practising their wiles upon the people. They were foreigners, said the essayist, which was a very serious indictment in his mind; they not only bamboozled folk, but they stole. He was promptly answered by a broader-minded neighbor who argued that the peddlers had come to stay; that they had a right here, in the country of the free, and should not be restrained except when they transgressed the laws that applied to other folk as well as to themselves.

THE FULTON FERRYBOATS.

The Powles Hook-New York ferry was not the first to use steam, for John Stevens, of the celebrated family of that name, had put one in commission for his Hoboken-New York ferry in the fall of 1811. He, however, soon withdrew his steam boat and substituted horsepower, considering it more economical. Later on, the Stevens family paid more attention to the development of the steam ferryboat with most remarkable results. For a time, however, the Fulton boats plying between Jersey City (still called Powles Hook a hundred years ago) and New York were the only ones of the kind in the world.

Fulton's description of his invention is in part as follows:

"There are two boats, each ten feet beam, eighty feet long and five feet deep, in the hole; which boats are distant from each other ten feet; confined with strong transverse beams, knees and diagonal traces, forming a deck thirty feet wide and eighty feet long. To give her more strength she is held together by four-inch traces, each two inches square, which pass through her one foot above the water line and key on strong plates on the inside of each boat.

"Reflecting on a steam ferryboat," continues Fulton, "for Hudson's river, the waves usually running up and down, I found a great breadth of beam absolutely necessary to prevent the boat rolling in the trough of the sea. This is attained by two boats and one open space, giving thirty feet beam.

"By placing the propelling water wheel between the boats, it is guarded from injury by ice or shock on approaching the wharf or entering the dock, which operation being performed twenty-four times in twelve hours, allows no time for fending off with boat hooks. The whole of the machinery being placed between the two boats over the open space, leaves ten feet wide on each side on the deck of each boat for carriages and passengers. One side is appropriated to carriages, horses, cattle, etc., the other having neat benches and covered with an awning for passengers; on the latter side there is a passage and stairs to a neat cabin which is fifty feet long and five feet clear from the floor to the beams, finished with benches for passengers in rainy or bad weather. In winter there will be a stove in this cabin, which will add much to the comfort of passengers while navigating through the ice."

Colonel John Stevens, as already told, invented the first steam ferryboat. He had been working on it from the year 1808. It was called the *Julia Ann* and it carried 100 passengers. One historian says this, the first steam ferryboat in the world, made but sixteen trips and then was taken out of commission.

The development of the Paulus Hook-Jersey City ferry was brought about largely through the industry and foresight of the "Associates of the Jersey Company," a number of capitalists who bought the Paulus Hook ferry rights and the adjacent land in 1804, after having employed Alexander Hamilton to search the titles to the property and to act as counsel. These men then proceeded to lay out a city, which is now Jersey City. Prominent in the group were several Newarkers, some, if not all of whom became subsequently interested in the steam ferryboat idea. Among these Newarkers were Judge Boudinot, General J. N. Cumming, William Halsey, Alexander C. Macwhorter, Samuel Hayes, Jr., Governor William S. Pennington and Samuel Pennington. Previous to the steam ferry, the accommodations were of the crudest sort. Most of the ferryboats were row boats, and they never had more than four men to row them. They ran from sunrise to shortly after sunset, except in the summer, when they ran until 9 o'clock. There were usually spare oars aboard and passengers could lend a hand if they wished to, or if they chafed at the slowness of the passage, when they were probably told to "get an oar." Sails were used when the winds were favorable. The trip must have taken at the very least half an hour, and probably the average time was closer to an hour. (See reference to these boats earlier in present chapter.)

CHAPTER XX.

EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NEWARK—THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION—THE MILITIA, 1793-1798.

CHAPTER XX.

EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN NEWARK—THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION. THE MILITIA, 1793-1798.

NEWARK played no inconsiderable part in the creation of political parties in the State. While it was busy with the physical reconstruction of the community it did not lose sight of the fact that it had a vital place in the development of the new republic. Newark has always taken itself seriously, which is most fortunate for Newark, and probably for all New Jersey. As it has been, ever since the English came into the region, one of the dominant forces within its borders, it seems to have felt its responsibility from the start, and in each generation there have arisen those who have helped in maintaining the high standard established by the founders. In the early formative days of our present government which culminated in the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, and for some time thereafter, Newark was warmly devoted to the idea of a central government; in other words it was Federalist in its sympathies. This was natural enough, since it had been in no small measure a part of the battleground of the then recent war, and its sons had played no inconspicuous part, especially in the latter years of the struggle, in its happy consummation.

It was not long after the Constitution had become a living and active institution, however, that there arose here, as elsewhere, a feeling of distrust and uneasiness, a dread lest the country were being stealthily moulded into a monarchy by those at the head of government. Newark's first regularly established newspaper, John Woods' Newark Gazette and Paterson Advertiser, was an ardent Federalist organ, and in its columns one may trace the gradual waning of the power of that party, until the paper, after a few years' troublous existence, collapsed, giving way to a lusty opposition newspaper, the Centinel of Freedom. The decadence

of the former and the rise of the latter sheet, show the trend of the times, as reflected by the political thought in Newark and throughout Essex County.

The first crystallized opposition to the Federalist ideas appeared in the Anti-Federalist party, often spoken of as the first political party in the United States. One can find no trace of it in the annals of Newark. It accomplished little. But events of great importance during Washington's first term as President worked steadily to foster the feeling of suspicion in the minds of the perfervid anti-monarchists, and his proclamation of neutrality toward the European conflict then brewing, served to fuse the anti-Federalists with the Republicans, who, led by Thomas Jefferson, now began to take form in definite opposition to the administration. Very soon they were to call themselves the Democratic party, for Democrats they certainly were.

THE BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY IN NEWARK.

The Republican (Democratic) party made its appearance in Newark toward the close of Washington's first term. A meeting was held at Seabury's tavern, on March 19, 1794, which appears to have been the genesis of the party in Newark. The first call for this meeting was issued on March 5th. Matthias Day, who a few years later was to be appointed postmaster by Jefferson, was chosen as chairman of that meeting, and William S. Pennington, who was later, under the Democratic regime, to be elevated to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and afterwards was to become Governor of New Jersey, was made treasurer and secretary. It was decided to meet on the second Monday of each month, "to receive political instruction and to diffuse political understanding." The infant organization was named the "Republican Society." The initiation fee was fixed at two shillings, and the annual dues at the same amount. The committee on organization was composed of three stalwart soldiers of the War for Independence: Major Samuel Hays, Captain Thomas Ward and Lieutenant William S. Pennington, the latter already mentioned as secretary and treasurer.

In a letter to a friend, written in 1795, Thomas Jefferson gave an excellent description of the political parties of the moment, as follows:

"Two parties exist within the United States. They embrace respectively the following descriptions of persons. The Anti-Republicans consist of: (1) The old refugees and Tories; (2) British merchants residing among us, and composing the main body of our merchants; (3) American merchants trading on British capital, another great portion; (4) speculators and holders in the banks and public funds; (5) officers of the Federal government with some exceptions; (6) office hunters willing to give up principle for place, a numerous and noisy tribe; (7) nervous persons, whose languid fibres have more analogy with a passive than an active state of things. The Republican-Democratic party of our Union comprehends: (1) The entire body of landholders throughout the United States; (2) the body of laborers not being landholders, whether in husbanding or the arts. The latter is to the aggregate of the former party probably as 500 to 1; but their wealth is not as disproportionate, though it is also greatly superior and is in truth the foundation of that of their antagonists.

"Trifling as are the numbers of the anti-Republican party, there are circumstances which give them an appearance of strength and numbers. They all live in cities together, and can act in a body and readily at times; they give chief employment to the newspapers, and, therefore, have most of them under their command. The agricultural interest is dispersed over a great extent of country, have little means of inter-communication with each other, and feeling their own strength and will, are conscious that a single exertion of these will at any time crush the machinations against their government."

THE FEDERALISTS OF NEWARK.

So far as Newark was concerned, the Federalists are but imperfectly described in Mr. Jefferson's analysis. They embraced many of the strongest men, usually of a conservative turn; men who feared the country's future might be jeopardized if the thoughtless, irresponsible and hot-headed should be given too free a voice in government. Not a few of the town's most fearless patriots during the War for Independence stuck unflinchingly to the idea of a closely united country, with a strong central government. There was undoubtedly a decided leaning on the part of

some Federalists toward a monarchical form of government, although that element seems to have been but scantily represented here in Newark. To tell the truth it was many years before the party lines became firmly and definitely established, many shifting and with all honesty and patriotism, from one side to the other during the various crises that beset the infant republic.

In writing of the leaning toward monarchism evidenced by some of the Federalists, throughout New Jersey, Judge L. Q. C. Elmer, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, in his "Reminiscences," published by Martin R. Dennis & Co., of Newark, in 1872, says:

"This sort of preference was by no means universal among the Federalists. Most of them were only devoted, honest patriots, but believers in a republic. Many, however, had no faith in such a government. My classical teacher, when I was a youth, often told me if I lived to old age, I should live to come under the dominion of a king.

"As I have said, a change was inevitable; a social as well as a political change. The influence of a kingly government under which the colonial subjects so long lived, was more or less apparent in all the arrangement of society. Laws of etiquette as to the preference certain classes were entitled to in composing social parties, had great influence over many minds. Even our well-to-do farmers considered the laborers they employed as an entirely different class, and some of them were opposed to their being taught to read and write. I well remember that this sentiment was openly expressed by more than one during my boyhood. Every effort was made during several of the first years of the conflict [political] to put those of the other party under a social ban; and in this way the families of brothers and sisters were sometimes so divided as to cease all friendly intercourse.

BREECHES GIVE WAY TO PANTALOONS.

"The extent to which the change was carried by the ultimate success of the Democratic party is dwelt upon by Goodrich, a Federalist himself, in his recollections of a lifetime. He says: 'The change in manners had no doubt been silently going on for some time; but it was not distinctly visible to common eyes till the establishment of the new Constitution. Powder and queues, cocked-hats and broad-brims, white top-boats, breeches and shoe-buckles—signs and symbols of a generation, a few examples of which still lingered among us,—finally departed; while short hair, pantaloons and round hats with narrow brims, became the established costumes of men of all classes.'"

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY.

The Republicans of Newark are reasonably well comprehended under Mr. Jefferson's first analysis, No. 1. The Republican Society in Newark seems to have held regular meetings from the very beginning, usually in taverns, since there was no other place to assemble unless one took the County Courthouse or one of the churches, which, for a political party, was impossible. Sometimes these "progressives" of their day met in "Mr. Moses Combs' school," as a notice of February 10, 1795, tells.

They were fiery gatherings. An account of one of their meetings, published in February, 1795, and possibly referring to the assemblage in "Moses Combs' school," tells of doomful speeches, and refers, apparently to Washington, as "a despot from the South, with Democracy on his lips and tyranny in his heart." Those were times of intense concern for the infant republic's future. Dr. Macwhorter, that noble old patriot, who had worked so fearlessly and with consuming energy to promote the cause of the people against the Crown, found it necessary to declare himself in opposition to many of his old friends and, one may honestly say, companions in arms. In that same month of February, 1795, Dr. Macwhorter preached a sermon in which "despotism" is denounced, and in the course of which he said: "We must not exalt any man or set of men," referring, unquestionably, to Washington and Hamilton, and explaining that "the Constitution is made to be changed as circumstances demand."

PATRIOTISM AND THE FLAGSTAFF.

On July 3, 1793, a flagstaff was erected at what is now the apex of Military Park, in anticipation of the coming Independence Day celebration. For several years thereafter the high-spirited youth of the village strove to have dominant the emblems of whichever party they were in sympathy with, upon that "liberty pole." Under cover of darkness one party would remove the trophies of the other; certainly a foolish and altogether unefficacious way of showing one's patriotism. The Republicans made a brave show

with a cap of liberty, in more or less conscious imitation of the turbulent founders of the French republic and as a sign of their warm sympathy with the revolution which was then in full and bloody progress in France. The Federalists resented all such manifestations, believing that they tended to embroil this country in European difficulties with which America, they felt, should have no part. The Republicans looked upon the Federalist conservatism as an outward expression of a secret leaning toward monarchism, with the possibility of a return to British tyranny. They called the Federalists "aristocrats" and all expressions of their views "aristocratical." Republicanism was given a strong impetus in Newark as well as all Jersey and in many other States, early in 1793, when France declared war on Great Britain and Holland.

To us of to-day, the fears of a return to English domination seem trivial, not to say amusing; but in the last few years of the eighteenth and for a decade and longer of the nineteenth century, these apprehensions were very real to a large proportion of the people here in Newark and throughout Essex County. The controversies between the two contending parties were incessant and at times exceedingly bitter, as the newspapers of the period show.

At the annual Newark town meeting, April, 1798, an address to both houses of Congress was adopted "earnestly desiring the government to restrain from the arming of our merchant ships and to restrain from instituting or augmenting a naval armament." But the address at the same time expressed the determination of the citizens of Newark to support the constitution of the United States "with their lives and fortunes. Out of about 300 persons a small number, from 10 to 15, voted against it."

There seems to have been far stronger opposition to this action than the Centinal of Freedom, the Republican [Democratic] organ, would have us believe. The night after the meeting the liberty cap was taken off the flagpole, at the apex of Military Park, and the liberty cap on the emblem of justice over the judge's chair in the county court house was also removed. This was apparently

done to give the impression that the doers felt the town, in its action urging Congress to stop naval armament, had thrown aside freedom, had trampled upon liberty.

A few days later, according to the Centinal of May 1, 1798, a new liberty cap was provided and restored to the flagpole. There was a procession, with music of American airs, and an address was made by Dr. Macwhorter, in which he reiterated his well known belief that the militia was sufficient to protect the contury in all times of stress and trial, and that a standing army was unnecessary. Not long afterward the liberty cap seems to have again disappeared from the flagpole.

NEWARK AND THE WHISKEY INSURRECTIONS.

In 1794 came the so-called "whiskey insurrection," in Pennsylvania, when Washington sent forth the first call for volunteers in the history of the republic, and when Essex County and Newark responded with promptness and enthusiasm. This rebellion was a direct protest against the policy of the federal leaders. It arose in the western part of Pennsylvania among the Scotch-Irish settlers of Washington, Westmoreland, Fayette and Allegheny counties, because of the insistent of the federal government that duties should be paid, not only upon all distilled liquors, but upon the stills where they were made. The "whiskey tax" was opposed because it sought to levy upon the right to use drink distilled from rye, which, it was asserted by the West Pennsylvania revolutionists, should be as free as air or water.

On May 9, 1794, an act of Congress was passed, calling for 80,000 effective militia to quell the insurrection. New Jersey was to furnish 4,318 men. Washington's proclamation calling for the subjection of the rebels was issued on August 4, 1794. The actual number of troops finally called into the field was about thirteen thousand men, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey militia. New Jersey's quota was 2,100, and of these Essex and Newark furnished at least five hundred.

The militia of Western Pennsylvania, which was strongly allied with the Republicans in politics, took up the cause of the insurrectionists against the federal government. It is most important to Newark and Essex County folk to note, however, that the Republicans here stood fast by the federal administration. They held a meeting in Newark, presumably at Seabury's tavern, on September 22, 1794, at which resolutions were adopted endorsing the steps taken by the government to suppress the riots in Western Pennsylvania. The resolutions set forth that the majority must rule, and that while government may do wrong, the people, under the constitution, have means for redress. The society deprecated the attempts being made to hinder inquiry into the government's methods in reducing the confusion and anarchy in Pennsylvania, declaring the efforts made to fasten on the various Republican societies of the country the blame for inciting the riots, invidious. The resolutions were signed by Matthew Ward as chairman and Aaron Pennington as secretary.

Newark and Essex contributed to all three arms, cavalry, artillery and infantry, reaching Trenton in mid-September. After several weeks campaigning in the Pennsylvania mountains, with no engagements and only such hardships as were incidental to long marches, crude camp equipment, etc., the rebellion collapsed late in October, 1794. The Jersey men had then been about six weeks in the field and it took them another month and a half to get home. The only casualty reported from the Essex militia was the illness of Cornet Beach of the Newark cavalry company who was invalided home. The troops, who had been sent out amid scenes of great enthusiasm, returned in detachments, the first early in December, until the last arrived some weeks later. They were formally welcomed by the leading citizens, with speech-making and feasting. The affair was described in the Gazette on January 14, 1795:

"On Friday last an entertainment was given by the citizens of this town, to the volunteers on the late expedition against the Western insurgents. Agreeably to the arrangements of the day, the Volunteers assembled at the Academy, being joined by their

fellow citizens, and a number of the French republicans, at present residing in this place, and who were invited on the occasion, a procession was formed, from the Academy to the Court House, where Brigadier General Cumming delivered an address."

In the course of it he said:

"Your laudable example has at least demonstrated this great truth, that a national militia is in every way adequate to the support of a free government and will do away with every pretext in favor of a standing army."

Captain Burnet responded for the volunteers. They then adjourned to Gifford's tavern to partake of a "Civic Feast." There were fifteen toasts, and three "volunteers," one of the last being:

"May citizen soldiers always support the constitution and laws of their country, and never have any future occasion to arm in suppression of insurrection."

"JERSEY BLUE."

In every war in which New Jersey troops have had a part, from the French and Indian wars to and including the Civil War (and the Spanish War hardly lasted long enough to bring out that peculiarly New Jersey expression of its patriotism), the term "Jersey Blue" has played a more or less striking part. The expression originated, as we saw in a previous chapter, with Colonel Peter Schuyler's men in the 1750's; was revived with the War for Independence, when Captain Eliakim Littell of the Essex Militia led a company uniformed in "Jersey Blue," and appears in the "Whiskey Insurrection."

Governor Howell, who was something of a poet, wrote some verses to inspire the Jersey troops while on march into the Pennsylvania mountains, which were very popular for many years thereafter, and which ran as follows:

To arms once more our hero¹ cries,
Sedition lives and order dies;
To peace and ease then bid adieu,
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.
Dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue,
Jersey Blue, Jersey Blue,
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

¹ Washington. Howell was a veteran of the War for Independence.

Since proud ambition rears its head,
And murders rage, and discords spread;
To save from spoil the virtuous few,
Dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

NEWARK

Roused at the call, with magic sound,
The drums and trumpets circled 'round,
As soon as the corps their route pursue;
So dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Unstained with crime, unused to fear,
In deep array our youth appear;
And fly to crush the rebel crew,
Or die in the mountains, Jersey Blue.

The tears bedew the maiden's cheek,
The storm hangs 'round the mountains bleak;
'Tis glory calls, to love adieu,
Then dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

Should foul misrule and party rage
With law and liberty engage,
Push home your steel, you'll soon review
Your native plains, brave Jersey Blue.

The militiamen seem to have sung these verses to some air which the writer has not been able to discover. Toward the end of the little campaign another poet delivered himself of a second part or sequel to Governor Howell's effusion, as follows:

When we last heard our Hero's cries
To arms! to arms! or order dies—
Our arms we seized and swiftly flew,
Dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.

O'er mountains high and vallies deep,
Our rugged course we still did keep;
Nor rain nor snow could e'er subdue
The patriot zeal of Jersey Blue.

At length, by dint of toils and pain,
The western waters we did gain;
But to our grief no rebel crew
Would try the steels of Jersey Blue.

Then through their country we did scout
To find these sad offenders out,
And show what monstrous melons grow
Beyond the mountains, Jersey Blue.

And now these dogs to prison led
Or to the Indian country fled,
With hearts to love, as courage, true
We'll homeward dash, brave Jersey Blue.

And when we quaff the gen'rous bowl,
And catch the fire from soul to soul;
We'll toast our wives and sweethearts true
Who sigh to meet us, Jersey Blue.

Now while we jog the road along,
Let's cheat the hours with a song,
Until enraptured we shall view
Our native plains, brave Jersey Blue.

To patriotic Jerseymen, "Jersey Blue" had become a sort of slogan. "Recent letters from some of our citizens," remarked John Woods's Newark Gazette, on October 1, 1794, "inform us of the high spirits and the good order and discipline which prevails in the camp. Should an action take place we have no doubt but that the Jersey Blue will maintain their long established credit, and hand down their verdant laurels to their posterity."

Again, in 1812, with the country about to engage in its second war with England, Jersey Blue appears, in a poem of nine stanzas, published in the Newark Centinel of Freedom, on September 1, of that year, of which the two following are typical:

Young Jersey Blue attend the call,
Of invitation to us all;
Come forward, march, the way is clear,
Young Jersey Blue, come volunteer.
Volunteer, volunteer;
Young Jersey Blue, come volunteer.

Our country calls the brave to arms,
Dash on, my boys, 'tis war's alarms;
Support the cause, 'tis freedom dear.
Young Jersey Blue, come volunteer.

THE MILITIA AND POLITICS.

While the people were, in the main, strongly opposed to a standing army at the close of the War for Independence and for very many years thereafter, their enthusiasm over militia organizations was strong. They had failed to learn the grim lessons taught, right here in Newark and Essex, by the failure of the citizen soldiery to properly co-operate with the Continental army; they seemed to remember only its brilliant achievements towards the close of the great struggle. Gradually, as the political parties began to take definite form, they organized companies of their own. Newark had its "Federal Blues," in the middle 1790's, and the "Republican Fusiliers" made their appearance about the same time.

CITIZEN SOLDIERS' UNIFORMS, 1793-1794.

At least two companies of Newark militia took part in a reception given General Washington at Elizabeth while he was on the way to New York for his first inauguration in 1789.

Militia, uniformed under State regulations, appear in 1793. Part of the regulations were laid down at the very close of Governor Paterson's last administration, and were elaborated by his successor, Governor Richard Howell, who led the New Jersey troops in the "Whiskey Insurrection." In June, 1793, Governor Howell issued the following:

"The commander-in-chief thinks proper to recommend to the general militia of this State, who may not go into complete uniform, if such there be, that the non-commissioned officers and privates of such regiments do procure neat white linen frocks, which will be cool in summer, and by the addition of a warm vest, will be comfortable in winter; a red yarn sash to gird the middle, with overalls—to all intents and purposes our modern khaki—"tight around the small of the leg; half boots or half-spats, and round hats, with the feather recommended by the late Governor, must complete the whole uniform. It is said some regiments are proceeding to furnish themselves with the above dress, the expense of which will be very trifling."

The above was quite generally adopted, but there were in every town of any size whatever, one or more uniformed companies, and those of the cavalry and infantry are given in some detail herewith:

CAVALRY.

Black leather caps with bearskin over the crown; straw-colored silk sash tied 'round the same in a bow behind. A small, flat, yellow metal button and yellow loop, a black silk rose cockade, two and one-half inches in diameter. Green feathers, with red tops. Black velvet stocks, two and one-half to three inches wide.

Dark blue coats, buff facings and linings, and plain flat yellow metal buttons, the skirts of the coat to fall seven inches below the hip bone; the commissioned officers to wear on each shoulder a gold epaulette not to be wider than the strap, which is to be two inches in width.

Waistcoats to be of buff cloth, without lace, single-breasted, no skirts or belts, and with a single row of small, plain flat yellow metal buttons in front.

Breeches to be of buff leather; six small plain flat yellow metal buttons on each knee and the knee band to tie with strings.

Boots with black tops, high enough to cover the knee band and to fasten to the buttons on the knee of the breeches.

Steel spurs, swords, to be slung over the right shoulder in a buff leather belt three inches wide, with buff leather sword knots about an inch wide; black cartouche boxes buckled around the waist with buff belts; Black holsters; dark blue saddle cloths with buff stripe an inch wide around the edge, and lined with yellow flannel; Black bridles and reins and dark blue front pieces; Valises, breast plates and cruppers and every necessary rein and strap to be of black leather.

LIGHT INFANTRY.

Hats are to be round, brim $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, except the part on the left side, which is to be seven inches wide and turned up. Light blue feathers, with red tops for officers. Stocks the same as the cavalry.

Coats of dark blue, red facings and white trimmings, skirts to fall twelve inches below the hip bone.

Waistcoats, overalls and half boots, the same as the grenadiers.

GRENADIERS.

Hats to be cocked, the side brim seven inches wide and the hind brim eight and one-half inches, with a small, flat, white metal button and white loop and loopings.

Stocks the same as the cavalry.

Coats to be of dark blue cloth with full red facings, and white linings; the skirts to fall two inches below the knee garter, and to be turned up with hooks and eyes, a red heart an inch in bigness to point to the hook and eye.

Waistcoats to be of white cloth and the same cut and fashioned as those of the cavalry.

Overalls to be of white linen or drilling, with a slit below the calf large enough for the heel to go through, and to sit tight in the thigh and leg.

Half boots to from six to six and one-half inches high, bound with red leather to turn over at the top one-fourth of an inch, and to be laced in front.

The commissioned officers to wear small swords with silver hilts; the non-commissioned officers to carry a musket with a bayonet of 18 inches, the bayonet to be slung over the right shoulder in a white leather belt three inches wide, and the cartouche box to be slung over the left shoulder in a belt of the same kind and size; the bayonets and cartouche boxes of the privates to be slung and carried in the like manner and kind of belt.

WEARING THE UNIFORMS TO CHURCH.

The Federalists usually formed the most pretentious companies and were, of course, promptly accused of their "monarchical" leanings, aping the pomp and circumstance of kingdoms. The Republicans oftenest took up with the simple garb of the "frock-men" first described.

In 1798, Wood's Gazette, published in Newark, and a Federalist organ, solemnly applauded the tendency of militiamen to wear their uniforms to church, to stimulate the military spirit, arouse patriotism, and (whimsically enough) to give the men a chance to get some benefit out of their expensive clothes. Here is the argument:

"It is with pleasure we remark the attention paid by the officers of the militia, and the citizen soldiers of the uniform companies, to the recommendations of their field officers to wear their regimentals on Sundays. Many are the advantages likely to ensue from a perseverance in the observance of this regulation. Our officers and soldiers will acquire greater ease by being constantly accustomed to the dress of a uniform, than when it is only occasionally worn.

"The military air of troops is perfectly mechanical, and arises from habit; the truth of this remark is obvious to everyone who is the least acquainted with armies. Unless, therefore, some expedient be adopted to familiarize the men with the garb of a soldier more than what arises from the general field days, by law established, there will always be a certain stiffness, and consequent awkwardness, which will occasion an appearance of inferiority, when compared with disciplined troops. Officers, especially, should use every means to acquire and keep up a military air. * * *

"Another and important benefit is likely to arise from adopting regimentals as a Sunday dress. Great objections and real inconveniences have been experienced through the United States in raising uniform companies, by reason of the expense of regimentals, which in general cost more than plain clothes, and being but occasionally used, become a real tax on the citizen.

"Now, if regimentals are adopted as a dress-suit, this great objection will be obviated, and not only uniform infantry, grenadier, horse and artillery companies may be formed, but whole battalions may be gradually introduced completely and uniformly equipped.

"The advantage therefore of persevering in wearing the regimentals on all public occasions must be too obvious not to be encouraged. Our fellow citizens will soon pride themselves in appearing in the dress of Freeman, and the fair daughters of America will smile benignantlty on the man who has not only a hand to provide for her support, but an arm to offer for her protection."

All this was promptly frowned upon by the Republicans, and one of them wrote to the editor denouncing the "clangor of arms" in church. He objected emphatically to "making the temple set apart for the humble worship of God, a theatre for the exhibition of military show * * * an ostentatious arrangement bordering upon Asiatic pride and voluptuousness."

MUSTER AND TRAINING DAYS.

It will surprise many to know that in 1794 and for a long time thereafter Essex County sustained a brigade of militia. Training days were held in the spring and fall, in May and October, usually. "Muster" day was a general holiday and a sort of festival. The citizen soldiery assembled on some large open stretch of ground, reasonably accessible from all sections of the country, which at that time included Paterson and a number of other small places now outside Essex's boundaries. Tuscan Hill, which was on the north side of what is now Springfield avenue, between Irvington and Hilton and east of Maplewood, was a favorite drill ground. Booths and stalls lined the field after the manner of a country fair. The people flocked from all the country 'round and the militia came from every direction, often being brought to the field in wagons—the modern idea of "hiking" as a part of the training of a militiaman being at that time unthought of. There was any amount of drilling in small and large bodies, always a good deal of musketry firing with blank cartridges and cannonading of the same noisy but harmless order, and the late afternoon and evening were given over to general merrymaking, with dinners at the tavern and the drinking of strong waters. There was little of practical value in this so-called "training," but it satisfied the popular idea of military preparedness, strange as it may seem.

MANEUVERS OF THE ESSEX BRIGADE.

Here is an account of one training day, which took place at Tuscan Hill in mid-October, 1794, published in Wood's Gazette:

"The Essex Brigade of Militia, commanded by Brigadier General [John N.] Cumming, consisting of the regiments of Colonels Crane, Hedden, Condit and Swain, and the Paterson battalion commanded by Major Blachly, paraded on Monday last, near Tuscan Hall. There were under arms about 1,800 men (the greatest part of the artillery and horse and a considerable detachment of footmen from this Brigade, have marched against the Western Insurgents), a detachment of Capt. Parkhurst's company of artillery, and about 40 horse from the different troops of horse under the command of Lieutenant Day. The Brigade made a very military appearance. They formed and deployed columns, but little inferior to the best disciplined regulars. The firing of platoons and regiments were generally well performed. Major Harrison's battalion of Colonel Condit's regiment, Major Dodd of Hedden's regiment, and Major Shute of Crane's regiment, deserve particular credit. There were about fifteen very handsome uniformed companies, and it was very evident from their performance that they possessed much military spirit."

"On Monday last," announced the Gazette on May 20, 1795, "the militia throughout the State was trained by companies, the several companies in this town, notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, appeared on parade and exercised with considerable spirit. After the duties of the parade were over, the officers and a number of the privates dined at Gifford's and spent the day with that harmony and glee which ought to characterize the citizen soldier."

In 1794 Newark had uniformed companies for each arm of the service, artillery, grenadiers, infantry and cavalry.

In 1788, on May 1, "The town battalion assembled on the parade ground," Military Park, "commanded by Major Beach, and performed various evolutions with commendable exactness and propriety." In 1799 there appears a company in a measure equivalent to the G. A. R. of this day. It was known as the "Silver Grays" and was made up of veterans of the War for Independence.

The May "training days" were, as a rule, for the exercise of the several companies of militia in their own towns and villages, and were practically for the purpose of drilling in preparation of Independence day, which Newark has celebrated since 1788, and probably longer, although the writer has been unable to find any record of earlier celebrations.

CHAPTER XXI.
INDEPENDENCE DAY IN NEWARK, 1788-1836—
DISTINGUISHED VISITORS OF THAT
PERIOD.

CHAPTER XXII.

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN NEWARK, 1788-1836—DISTINGUISHED VISITORS OF THAT PERIOD.

THERE is something inspiring about Newark's Independence Day lineage, if one may be permitted to call it that. This community began its observance of the day when by far the greater part of the United States was a wilderness; when the possibilities of the Great West were undreamt of; when those who celebrated, all but the small children, were uplifted by the realization of their dearest dreams nursed during days of black despair and hours of grim trial. It had cost them much, both men and women, to be able to celebrate the day; that is, the Fourth was, for every one of them, their own making, in part. No wonder the little village of twelve hundred or so inhabitants rose at daybreak as one man, on the mornings of the Fourth in the last decade or so of the eighteenth century, and set the village a-quiver with the clanging of their two church bells (on the First Church and Trinity Episcopal), fired their Revolutionary cannon and flintlocks in noisy abandonment, and later in the day marched in as imposing a procession as was possible, lighting the skies at night with their bonfires and cheering themselves hoarse at one of the village inns until late into the night, at the Independence Day dinner, as the several toasts were called off and drunk down.

AN APPEAL TO CIVIC PRIDE.

Few cities or towns in all this country (except Philadelphia) have nearer and closer claims upon them to observe its natal day with proper spirit and dignity than our own Newark. There are few ways to impress upon Newarkers the need for deeper, more comprehensive and more useful civic pride, than by a brief rehearsal of a few of the early celebrations of the great festival. A history of these celebrations is in a sense a history of Newark, for the first half century or so of its life after the War for Independence.

In 1788 the day began with the firing of twelve cannon-shot, one for each year of independence. At 8 in the morning there began what was no doubt the greatest parade ever held in the village up to that time. It was largely an industrial parade, headed by two or three companies of local militia, a troop of horse, frock men, artillery, grenadiers, light infantry, all called the "Independence Corps."

An account in detail of this celebration was given in the New Jersey Journal, in its issue of July 9, 1788. It is in part as follows:

"At sunrise the day was announced by a salute of twelve cannon, being the years of our independence, and the bells of the different churches rang till 8 o'clock, when the independent corps, consisting of the Horse, Artillery, three companies of Frock Men, Grenadiers and Infantry, commanded by Capt. Cumming, were paraded and reviewed; after the review they proceeded to the Presbyterian church," then on the west side of Broad street, "accompanied by the inhabitants of the place, where the Rev. Dr. Macwhorter delivered an elegant oration to a crowded audience. From the church, the procession being formed, they proceeded through the principal streets of the town, forming a line three-quarters of a mile; at one o'clock they reached the church green," the Brantford Place of to-day, "when the artillery fired a salute of ten cannon in honor of the ten Federal States; the Battalion fired the Feu-de-Joy, which was returned by the inhabitants with three cheers.

"The troops being divided into two parties after making the proper dispositions, a sham fight ensued, to the great entertainment and satisfaction of the spectators; then returned to a large bower built on the occasion, and partook of a cold collation. At 4 o'clock the clergy and other gentlemen of the town, with the officers of the different companies, partook of an elegant dinner provided by Mr. John Reading, when the following toasts were drank, accompanied by cannon, viz:

- "1. The United States.
- "2. The ten States that have adopted the New Constitution.
- "3. The Government and State of New Jersey.
- "4. General Washington, President of the late Convention.
- "5. The officers and soldiers of the late American Army.
- "6. The memory of the officers who fell in the late war.
- "7. The officers and militia of Newark.
- "8. The Farmers and Mechanicks of Newark.
- "9. May the Constitution last until days come to an eternal pause, and sun and moon shall be no more.
- "10. The day.

"In the evening a piece of transparent painting (executed by young Mr. Higgins) was exhibited, representing the head of General Washington, encircled with the ten States that have adopted the Constitution; New York, Rhode Island, and North Carolina, loose and detached. Around the ten States was this motto: 'We have agreed to the New Constitution; do you follow.'
* * *

"The whole was conducted with the greatest decorum and regularity; not a dissatisfied countenance was seen; cheerfulness appeared in every face, and the day was spent in great hilarity, everyone vying with each other who should be most agreeable."

Then follows the "order of the procession," which, after the companies of militia, was as follows:

"Ten yoke of oxen, drawing a plow, supported by Mr. Nathaniel Camp, assisted by Mr. Caleb Wheeler, two venerable farmers of the first respectability; followed by farmers, with their implements of husbandry.

"Tanners and Curriers, preceded by Mr. Johnston, to the number of 20, with their knives and hooks.

"Cordwainers, preceded by Mr. Plumb on a stage with four journeymen at work, to the number of 50, with their tools. Last and heel makers to the number of 10. Nailors with their tools.

"Carpenters and joiners, preceded by Messieurs James Nichols and Bruen, on a stage, with a master millwright laying out work for thirty-six journeymen, carrying tools of all sorts, decorated.

"Quarrymen and stone lifters, preceded by Captain Nurlington, to the number of 8, in their frocks and trousers, with their tools.

"Stone cutters to the number of 10, with their tools.

"Masons, preceded by Mr. Shipman, to the number of thirty, with their tools.

"Blacksmiths, preceded by Mr. Alling on a stage, with a furnace, journeymen at work to the number of 12, with their tools.

"Scythe makers, to the number of 4.

"Coach and chair makers.

"Painters with their brushes.

"Wheelwrights and turners, preceded by Mr. Allen on a stage with turning lathe, etc., to the number of 18, with their tools.

"Comb makers.

"Silversmiths, to the number of 6, with anvils and hammers decorated.

"Clock and Watch makers.

"Tailors, to the number of 14, with their tools, measures, etc.

"Hatters, to the number of 8, with brushes, bows, etc. •

"Saddlers and harness-makers, to the number of 12.

"Coopers, preceded by Messrs. Crane and Andress on a stage with a shop and people at work, to the number of 20.

"Butchers—two with cleaver and knife.

"Bakers.

"Weavers, to the number of 6, with their shuttles, etc.

"Dyers and fullers.

"Tobacconists with their knives.

"Ditchers with their spades and knives.

"Furnace men in their frocks.

"Millers.

"The young gentlemen of the two academies (in their respective classes, carrying the different authors read by them), to the number of 60.

"Sheriff and deputy, with their maces.

"Coroners.

"Constables with their staves.

"Magistrates.

"Clergy.

"Lawyers.

"Physicians.

"Ship Carpenters, preceded by Mr. William Byvank, with a small ship neatly rigged and decorated, followed by the sailors.

"Merchants and Shopkeepers.

"Private Gentlemen.

"Half troop of Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Ward, to the number of 25."

REASONS FOR INDUSTRIAL PARADE OF 1788.

But why an industrial parade? Ah, that is most important. The country, like a child just loose from its mother, stood trembling with the realization of the fact that it had its own way to make; that it must hereafter shift for itself. The people were just coming to understand that they had, in the past, as colonists, busied themselves chiefly with producing the raw material, and that they knew little about turning that material into the finished product. The old country had done all that, and had taxed them roundly for it, too. Now it was vitally true that the people of the new republic must learn to make things themselves if the new nation was to live.

No community on this continent realized this more forcibly than Newark, and none entered into the upbuilding of industrial strength more zealously than did this community. That is why there are but ten other cities more powerful industrially to-day (1913) than Newark. The call for the development of the industries that was then ringing throughout the country arose out of the purest patriotism; so, while men were then starting mills and workshops for a livelihood and to make fortunes, if they might, they were doing it for the country's good, and they were risking their all to do it. The industrial feature of that first Fourth of July parade of which Newark has any record was therefore peculiarly appropriate. A dozen years before there had been a procession or parade down Broad street—Washington and his army fleeing before the triumphant British. Now, in 1788, five years after the end of the war, the village had its first peace parade; what could be more typical of Newark, in the light of its development since 1788, than that patriotic-industrial parade?

THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

After the parade there were exercises in the First Church, with the reading of odes and of the Declaration of Independence and with a splendid oration by grand old Dr. Macwhorter, the patriot pastor of the First Church. In the afternoon the dinner was served in one of the taverns, and the second toast on the list was: "The ten States that have adopted the new Constitution." The Constitution was then less than a year old, having been adopted by Congress in the fall of the previous year, New Jersey having been one of the three States to adopt it unanimously and among the very first. Another toast was: "May the new Constitution last until days come to an eternal pause and sun and moon shall be no more." A third toast, of special significance as showing how clearly the men of Newark seemed to see where the community's future prosperity lay, was: "The farmers and mechanicks of Newark."

In 1793 the great event of the day was the dedication of the first flagpole in the town, at the apex of Military Park, which had been set up the day before. The dinner was served, in the daytime, in a bower 120 feet long and 15 feet wide, set up for the purpose on the north side of Academy street, back of where the Postoffice now stands.

In 1794 the day was observed with a parade and the usual speechmaking, not at the centre of the town, but at Second river, now Belleville, and then considered part of Newark.

A committee of prominent men was chosen every spring, in May or early in June, to arrange the program for the Fourth. The committee chose the orator of the day, selected the toasts, chose the citizen who was to carry the cap of liberty, and, in fact, seems to have had absolute charge of the day's doings. The carrying of the cap of liberty was a great honor. In the early days soldiers of the Revolution seem to have been given the preference. The cap was of velvet or of silk and was borne upon a standard. Some Newarkers of the older generation remember this feature of old Fourth of July parades well.

In 1796 the committee had a very grave problem to solve. Hitherto everybody that was anybody at all, could find room at the Independence Day dinner; yes, all the men in the village could be comfortably entertained in one of the tavern "long rooms" or in a bower 15 feet wide by 120 or so feet long. Now a change had come, as the following, taken from the Newark Gazette of June 28, 1796, will show:

"As the citizens of this flourishing town have become too numerous to assemble with any convenience or comfort, to dine in one body, it was judged expedient to leave a public dinner out of the general plan of amusements, on the presumption that the respective classes of citizens would take their own measures for evincing their gratitude to the Benevolent Parent of Nature for the unparalleled blessings we enjoy in such manner as to them may appear most eligible. Such as choose to associate in different circles for festive purposes, may interchange congratulatory deputations to diffuse the general joy."

In the description of the celebration, in the Gazette, July 6, we find the following:

"Nor did the day close without its usually concomitant festivities. On this auspicious occasion a tribute of respect was paid to the ladies. The society of this village, having become so numerous it was found necessary to divide for the purposes of more comfortable accommodations—two Bowers were constructed, one at the head of the parade (Military Park, near Trinity, or just above the church), the other in a new street in the southern part of the town."

The bower on the parade was circular, 50 feet in diameter, with sixteen arches (one for each State) 12 feet high and 8 feet wide, with a series of eight interior arches, forming a sort of colonnade. The pillars were twined with greenery and flowers, and the ladies sat in the colonnade, facing each other, partly shielded from the gaze of the curious by means of the greenery. One hundred and eighty ladies and gentlemen attended. Cake and tea were enjoyed "with perfect ease and the highest glee and satisfaction."

The Southern bower was oblong, 160 feet long, 14 feet wide. Two hundred ladies and gentlemen attended, "who passed the afternoon with the greatest conviviality and harmony."

A BOWER CONSTRUCTED IN THREE HOURS.

"As an instance of the spirit of enterprise and exertion which has often distinguished the citizens of this town, it is worthy of remark that the last mentioned bower was begun and finished within the space of three hours. The Northern bower was commenced on Saturday and completed on Monday. The assemblage of ladies at the two bowers was the most numerous and brilliant ever known in this town. Before the companies departed a deputation was sent from the citizens of the Southern bower by Messrs. A. Pennington and Canfield, with a congratulatory address."

Reply was made by Messrs. Boudinot, John Macwhorter and G. W. Burnet. In the evening there were two balls, at Major Sayre's and at Tuttle's taverns.

The greetings from the Northern bower have this:

"We sincerely hope that the same humanity which has so conspicuously marked the proceedings of this day may ever distinguish the citizens of this flourishing village."

In 1797 the parade was remarkable as being led by a band of music "composed of our own citizens," the first on record.

In 1798 the good people of Newark sang "Hail Columbia" for the first time on Independence Day. After the exercises in the First Church the militia and the citizens marched to Military Common, where they formed what the newspaper of the day called a "hallow" (hollow) square, when they "chanted" "Hail Columbia." It was a dramatic moment for the patriotic little town, as war with France was expected to begin any day, and the song expressed the feelings of a certain proportion of the people and breathed something of their defiance to the tyranny of the Old World.

There were two bowers, but on this occasion one was placed about where the Court House now stands, on "Mount Union," as the ridge there was called, "Pork Hill" being a still more ancient name, dating back to the Revolution and before. The "North Bower" remained on the green near Trinity Church. Political party lines were now becoming quite clearly defined. The Republicans held a banquet at Archer Gifford's tavern, while the Federalists, the so-called aristocrats, dined in Tuttle's tavern, Tuttle being a veteran of the Revolution who was wounded at Brandywine.

UPROAR IN THE CHURCH, 1799.

In 1799 "Hail Columbia" had become quite unpopular with the Republicans, chiefly because the Federalists delighted in it. A great sensation was caused at the Fourth of July exercises in the First Church this year, all because of this song. The Republicans were in the majority on the committee of arrangements, and they did not put it on the program. So, as the preacher was about to pronounce the benediction, "had composed himself for prayer," says the Centinel of Freedom, the company of militia known as the Federal Blues "started croaking 'Hail Columbia.'" After they

had finished, the uproar caused by the clapping of hands and other expressions of enthusiasm made it impossible for the preacher to continue the benediction, and the assemblage had to leave the church without it being pronounced—something probably unheard of since the founding of the town.

The Republicans afterward explained the omission of the song from the program by saying in their newspaper, the *Centinel*, "The clamour which usually attends singing it rendered it improper at that time by impairing the modest decorum so essentially requisite to the majestic solemnity of church music." At the same time we may all suspect that the omission was a more or less cunning political trick, which the Federals resented in the manner described above.

PLATOON FIRING, 1804.

In 1804 the committee arranged a novelty, which was so pleasing to the village, now numbering three or four thousand inhabitants, that it was repeated several times thereafter. It was a federal salute of eighteen guns (there then being eighteen States in the Union), a "gun" being a volley from a platoon. The salute was fired at daybreak, and it was done in this wise: The artillery company, posted in Military Park, fired one volley, and the Rangers, in Washington Park, followed with one volley, or platoon, the whole company firing as one man. The Federal Infantry, posted in Military Park, followed the Rangers, and then the Fusilliers, stationed "in front of Parkhurst's School," in Lincoln Park, finished the first round. This was kept up until eighteen "guns" had been discharged, the noise being quite equally distributed over the entire town. In those days the northern boundary of the town proper was at Bridge street, the southern end at Lincoln Park, as it is now called, while Washington street was the "west back street" and Mulberry street the "east back street."

For several years thereafter the celebrations departed but little from the routine. The dinners in the taverns reflected in the toasts the feelings of the two or three political parties. There

were usually seventeen set toasts, spoken by the master of ceremonies. Some were followed by three cheers or "huzzas," some by nine cheers, others, such as the toast to "Washington" by a "silent wave" of the glass, while still others called for the singing of some patriotic air. Then there were one or two impromptu toasts or "volunteers" as they were called. These came late in the evening, after the "West India Rum," "Cherry Bounce" and so on had been circulating briskly for two or three hours. In 1809 or '10, one of the "volunteers" was to the ladies of Newark, "As Chaste as Diana; as Determined as Lucretia."

AFRAID OF ENGLAND, 1805.

By 1805 the troubles with Great Britain, which seven years later were to culminate in the 1812 war, had become quite acute. In common with many of their countrymen, many Newarkers strove to influence their fellow-citizens to avoid doing anything that would offend Great Britain, for they feared a collapse of the infant industries and of the now moderately flourishing commercial business. They saw their own enterprises in danger, as did the shoe and leather manufacturers of this same Newark, on the eve of the Civil War, fifty years later. Besides, the Newark loyalists, those who had stood by the crown at the opening of the war, and who had been forced to fly from Newark to Canada and Nova Scotia, were beginning to return. All these tried to have the Independence Day celebrations as devoid of anything calculated to arouse the British Lion as possible. And the old newspapers show that the dyed-in-the-wool patriots and their children loudly opposed anything like truckling to Great Britain.

An effort was made in 1805 to have the reading of the Declaration of Independence omitted from the exercises at the First Church, for the reasons outlined above. It is a striking fact that both of the ministers of the First Church, Dominie Macwhorter and his assistant, "found it convenient," to use the words of one of the Newark newspapers, "to be absent from town on the day, so that they could not be called on to countenance the

reading of the Declaration." The pastor of Trinity Church, however, was at home and took charge of the exercises, and the Declaration was read. It is probable good Dr. Macwhorter was unavoidably absent, as he had faced many a far more serious crisis than this, and the next year, 1806, he was on hand and the Declaration was read, in spite of even more strenuous opposition.

The people were slowly making up their minds that they would have to fight the mother country again, and the militia became more warlike (albeit in what we would call very crude and puerile fashion). To show what mighty defenders of the nation they would be when the time came, they fought a sham battle on Independence Day, 1805. It was a truly tremendous affair, and it was repeated on several succeeding Independence Days. The Centinel of Freedom for July 9, 1805, describes it as follows:

A SHAM BATTLE IN 1805.

"The novelty of sham battles in this place and the curiosity excited thereby induces us to descend to particulars. A line was formed on the common, which was divided into two detachments, the one under the command of Captain Ray and the other under that of Captain Canfield, the one called (for distinction's sake) the friend and the other the enemy, General Cumming having the supreme command and Captain Hays acting as aide-de-camp. The whole body marched from the commons by platoons into Market street, where one division halted and the other continued their march to an elevated situation of the town on the South Orange road, where they halted. Presently an alarm gun was fired, which was the signal for the other detachment to advance and attack the enemy.

"No sooner did they arrive in sight of each other than the field pieces opened a brisk fire, which continued during the successive charges and firings of the horse and infantry in a valley between the hills on which the artillery were placed. At length the enemy became masters of the field and their opponents retreated into the town and concealed themselves in advantageous situations for attacking and surrounding the pursuers if they continued the pursuit into the town. This was done, and no sooner had they advanced to a spot agreed upon than they were on a sudden attacked on all sides, when a very brisk and promiscuous fire was opened by each detachment, which lasted some time.

"Finally a parley was beat by the invading foe and propositions made for a surrender, which were acceded to by laying down their arms and becoming prisoners of war. A numerous assemblage of people were collected on the roofs of the houses and on the adjacent hills to behold an occasion so rare, innocent and diverting."

JOHN HOMESPUN AND JOHN BULL.

The parades were almost invariably formed in Military Park and for many years moved from there to the First Church where the exercises were held, always in the morning. At noon the paraders re-formed and marched to Military Park where they disbanded for the feasting, the militia to gather again in the late afternoon, in the park, for maneuvers. A typical procession during the first fifteen years of the Independence Day celebrations (after the remarkable one of 1788, when the industries were so prominently exploited) was that of 1809, which was made up as follows: "1. Dismounted dragoons. 2. Volunteer company. 3. Militia officers. 4. Citizen bearing emblem of Liberty, with a citizen bearing the standard of the United States. 5. Orator of the day, and a Gentleman with the Declaration of Independence. 7. Civil officers. 8. Gentlemen of the Bar. 9. Teachers of the schools with their pupils. 10. Citizens."

A few days before the celebration in 1809, some local patriot delivered himself of a little masterpiece of literary expression, which was published in the town newspaper, and was entitled: "The Jubilee of Freemen. John Homespun and the Stranger. Scene, the Town of Newark." Homespun, a sort of Brother Jonathan, escorts Stranger, John Bull, about the town on the morning of the Fourth, descanting somewhat bombastically, according to modern standards, upon the benefits of patriotism, etc. The concluding paragraphs furnish some information of value as to the sentiment of the times. Plainly enough, Newark was a hotbed of contending political forces. Here are the closing sentences of the unknown patriot's effort:

"We continued slowly along. The bells rang. The populace was in motion. A company of uniform soldiers hove in sight, and the beat of the drum fixed the attention of the stranger. Their

appearance is good, said he; they look like a company of Regulars. Indeed, sir, said I, they are Regulars—they are regular Volunteers; they are regular Republicans; they are regular members of society; they are advocates of regular government—but on my soul, sir, they would sooner be hangmen than your King's Regulars!

"We proceeded. Do all your Townsmen, says the Stranger, unite in the Festival, and swell the procession of the Sons of Liberty No, sir, says I, there are many who do not. Some neglect it, some are opposed to it and others fought against it. But the main part you see yonder are industrious farmers, thriving mechanics, and respected labourers. Some of them are the soldiers of the revolution—some of them are their sons—and others are the sons of those whose ashes now mingle with the native dust. These are the jewels of liberty!

"Proceeding still slowly on, the Stranger stopt. My God! says he, who is that limping over the common with a wooden leg! Oh, says I, that spectacle tells you that American liberty cost much, and cannot be too lightly prized. That is one of the Whigs of the revolution. Because he stood up for the liberties of his country, and had the patriotism to stand before the British cannon, they shot off his leg—and no thanks to them that his head did not go along with it. Venerable soldier! said the Stranger, how superior your fame to the laurels of a Bonaparte.

"Proceeding a little further, the Stranger espied a like group of well-dressed gentlemen standing aloof from the crowd. Pray, sir, says he, who are those yonder Ah, sir, says I, these men do not associate this day with the sons of liberty. They can meet to celebrate the birthday of their sovereign and on such occasions make noise enough too, but the birthday of a nation is to them of minor importance.

"To-day they are as still as mice, or like the tarrapin their head is drawn within their shell. Some of them are the sons of St. Albion. Some of them are the apostate children of Columbia, who have returned from Nova Scotia. Some of them are those who went into the enemy's lines—made frequent excursions into this town—drove away our cattle—alarmed the inhabitants—and entrapped the Whigs. Such men we do not expect to celebrate the Fourth of July."

The troublous state of the times is clearly expressed in the soberness of the celebration in 1810. War with England was near, and the oft-repeated warnings of the minority not to indulge in rejoicings of a character likely to arouse Great Britain, dominated the community to a considerable degree. The parade was a modest

one. There was no drilling nor sham battle in the afternoon, and in its place literary exercises were gone through with by the boys of Newark Academy. There was the usual feast, however, with its seventeen toasts, the concluding being this remarkable effusion: "The fair daughters of Columbia. Chaste as Diana, determined as Lucretia; may they imbibe the minds of their offspring with love of country and hatred of tyranny."

In 1811 there was no parade at all. The pastor of the First Church preached a sermon appropriate to the day with the tactful text: "Righteousness exalteth a nation," from Proverbs xiv, 34. In the afternoon there were literary exercises at the Academy. Cannon were not fired at sunrise and sunset as formerly and there was no ringing of bells. The people of Newark seem to have been husbanding their martial energy for actual combat at arms.

A UNITED COMMUNITY IN 1812.

Independence Day, 1812, brought eloquent evidence of a united spirit. Party bickering was put aside. Federalists and Republicans (the latter by that time being quite generally known as Democrats) were of one mind. It was the old story of the quarreling brothers and sisters who rally to each other's aid, the instant outsiders seek to injure any one of them. The militia turned out in good numbers. Captain Decatur, a brother of the famous commodore, who was then a manufacturer with shops on Second River, led out his troop of light horse on a test run, to see how fast the cavalymen could move. The town newspaper records the fact that the troop covered the distance between the centre of Newark and the First Presbyterian Church in Orange, with flying artillery, in 18 minutes!

"On the whole," says the town newspaper, "we never witnessed a celebration of the Anniversary, where more cordiality prevailed. Party distinctions were laid aside. All appeared to act the part of Americans. The universal sentiment seemed to be," concluded the paragraph, in sanguinary rhetoric:

"If we must surrender our rights let them not perish till the hostile cannon has destroyed the last emblem of American Liberty. If we must see our independence gone, let it sink in an ocean of

blood. If we must resign our happy Constitution, let it be buried under the bodies of our citizens. If Columbia's plains are doomed to become the abode of slavery, let every field be ravaged—let every house be burnt—and let the last rampart of America become the last grave of the last American!"

— In 1816, fire rockets were introduced as part of the Independence Day illumination, for the first time. They were set off from Military Park, from some sort of a shelter, called a "Military Garden." In 1818, there appeared on the program for the day's celebration this innovation. "A full band of music will play American airs from the first bannister of the First Church." No doubt "baluster" was meant, and that the band was posted behind the balustrade that encloses the platform around the church spire at the point where it rises from the roof.

In 1818 we find the first traces of a revival of the industrial feature in the parade since the first of which we have record, 1788. Thirty years had now passed, and the town was in the heyday of its prosperity. So, we discover that twenty different groups of "mechanics" as manufacturers and their men of all sorts and descriptions were denominated, had their place in the procession, demonstrating their several trades or occupations. Hitherto the line of march had usually been from Military Park to the First Church, but now, in 1818, we find the first departure from the routine of a generation. Gathered at Military Park, the parade started at the firing of a signal gun, going up the park, behind Trinity Church, into Broad street, up to Bridge street, down Washington street to what is now Washington place, into Broad street, and thence down to the First Church.

In 1819, the militia, at the conclusion of the exercises in the First Church, reassembled in Military Park before going to the customary dinners, and fired what the newspapers called a "feu-de-joy." In the evening came Newark's first accident from fireworks. While a great number of the "excellent ladies" of the community were gathered to see the fire rockets shot off, an explosion occurred and several were badly hurt.

In 1820 there were no less than ten different companies of militia in the parade, including, besides three companies of artillery: Capt. Ball's Mechanic Rangers, Capt. Boudinot's Independent Cadets, Capt. Rankin's Governor's Guards, Capt. Earl's Columbian Blues, Capt. Kilburn's Columbian Patriots, Capt. Phillip's Independent Jersey Blues, and Capt. Kinney's Riflemen. The Artillery companies were headed by Capts. Brown, Bruen and Shipman. The Harmonic Society made its first appearance in that year, 1820, furnishing the vocal music at the church exercise. It did so for three or four years thereafter.

REMARKABLE INDUSTRIAL PARADE OF 1821.

In 1821 came the most ambitious demonstration in the history of the town, up to that time. By dint of great activity, it was contrived to have nearly every manufacturing interest in the community in the procession. The newspapers spoke of this display as "correctly representing the great mechanical interests of Newark," which means that the program of floats or "stages" is little short of being an industrial directory. This time the paraders moved across Military Park back of Trinity Church and up to Bridge street, around Washington Park, and then on down Broad street to what is now South or Lincoln Park, returning to the First Church for the usual exercises. Great crowds flocked in from all the surrounding towns. It was the largest assemblage in the town's history, thus far. The list of "stages" or floats of about forty different establishments is as follows, being taken from the Centinel of Freedom for July 5, 1821:

AGRICULTURAL REPRESENTATION.

Capt. Moses Baldwin and Daniel Tichenor, two farmers of distinction, on horseback, with sprigs of wheat in their hats.

A citizen bearing a stubbing scythe for clearing the field of briars, etc.

Plough, drawn by four yoke of oxen.

A citizen sowing grain.

Harrow, drawn by two yoke of oxen.

A citizen, bearing a cradle, and making the motion of cutting the waving harvest.

A citizen bearing a rake, significant of raking the golden sheaves of harvest.

A waggon, drawn by one yoke of oxen, loaded with sheaves, indicating the gathering of harvest.

A waggon, drawn by two horses on which a stage was erected; three men were threshing sheaves and another separating the wheat from the chaff by a fanning mill.

A load of hay drawn by two horses.

Wood's famous patent plough, exhibited on a waggon and made and sold by E. Meeker & Co.

A large country waggon, with 32 citizens from Orange, drawn by six horses.

MECHANICAL REPRESENTATION.

Moses Harris and Son, merchant tailors: A stage erected on a waggon, drawn by four horses, with a handsome awning, and a carpet on the floor. Hanging up were seen a variety of ready-made clothing; also on the shelves—cloths, cassimeres, vestings, etc.; and one of the firm ready to receive the orders of customers and several persons actually at work.

John E. Ruckel, baker; a stage erected on a waggon, exhibiting stove and fire, and the moulding and baking of sugar cakes and crackers.

Jacob Alyea's blacksmith's shop, erected on a waggon drawn by two horses—having forge, bellows, "jobbing of all kinds." Motto: "July, 1776."

Isaac Nichols' carpenter shop, elevated as before described exhibiting work bench, chest of tools, saws, grind stone, etc., and hands at work.

James Nutman and Nathaniel Canfield, masons; their works on a wagon, and a cart attached. In the first were hands at work erecting a fireplace and chimney. In the cart the mason tenders, his brick, mortar, etc. In a sly place we noticed a pitcher and beside it "black betty," probably intended by the labourer to keep up the "spirit" of the day.

Z. Grant & Son, stone cutters; their shop erected on a stage, and all hands busily at work dressing stone.

E. Meeker & Co., potter-bakers; their works erected as above, exhibiting ready made ware, a potter's wheel in operation, etc. tion. Motto: "Success to the Shuttle and Plough."

B. Hall, cotton weaver, with a loom, quill wheel, etc., in operation. Messrs. Dey, Tice and others, representing the tanners, curriers and morocco dressers. A number of hands were at work, and

a variety of leather, calf and morocco skins were exhibited. An elegant flag was erected, emblematical of their profession.

Messrs. Goble and Thomas and Jabez Canfield, boot and shoe manufacturers. Their stages were on two waggons. In front was exhibited a ware-room and persons engaged in packing shoes, writing letters, etc. In the rear a work shop and several hands at work on seats; one of whom made a shoe before the procession entered the church.

Andrew Rankin's hat manufactory, handsomely represented by a sign in front, together with a large kettle set and fire under it; five hands at work sizing hats, one at finishing, one at sewing and one at pulling and cutting muskrat.

Benjamin Cleveland, clock and watchmaker. Messrs. Taylor and Baldwin, jewelers, and Messrs. Downing & Phelps, clock and watchmakers, their establishments being united—near a dozen hands at work at their respective occupations.

David T. Andruss & Co., plane makers; two work benches were erected on a stage, and several rabbit, smoothing and fore planers were finished.

John Allen, cabinet maker; three work benches erected, a roping lathe with a supply of tools. The hands were employed in making a bureau bedstead, and roping a sett of table legs.

Hugh M'Dougall, cabinet maker; the stage handsomely ornamented with evergreens; two work benches erected and several hands at work making a cradle, claw work, stands and portable desks.

David Alling's fancy chair establishment, represented by two dozen ready made chairs, and workmen making rush bottom and windsor chairs, together with painting and ornamenting.

D'Coudres & Eagles, tin copper, stove and brass fenders; exhibiting their work benches, smith's forge, copper kettles, brass fenders, stove and tinware.

Aaron Baldwin, gunsmith; exhibiting a number of guns, fowling pieces, polishing lathe and men at work.

Abner Campbell, tallow chandler; exhibiting moulding jack, dipping machine, candle wick and candles, all in complete operation.

Peter Jacobus, saddle and harness maker; exhibiting a neat shop, with saddles, harnesses, trunks, portmanteaus, etc.

David Beach's coach making establishments; neatly constructed on two waggons; exhibiting number of hands at work on trimming, harness making, woodwork and painting.

Jabez Cook, smith's shop, attached to Mr. Beach's establishment, having a forge, bellows, etc., erected and having several hands at work engaged in ironing carriages.

The following six branches were from the Washington factory (on Mill Brook), each distinguished by appropriate signs.

George' Rohde's coach spring factory; five men at anvils, filing at springs and putting them together.

Andrew Wilson's silver plating factory, represented by four men at work.

William Steven's worsted manufactory, represented by a comber combing wool of various colors, for the spinning machinery, for which machines were very ingeniously kept in motion by the hind wheels of the waggon. Every part was kept in complete operation and seven hands were at work.

William Stevens' coach lace factory, represented with a loom in full operation, with several other branches of business, and four hands at work.

Thomas Owens' woolen manufactory, represented by five hands weaving, shearing and dressing cloth; with flannels, satinets, etc., ready for sale.

Samuel Simpson, stocking weaver, represented by a loom erected and in full operation; also exhibiting a number of ready-made articles.

Evans & Owens, chocolate and mustard manufacturers, handsomely representing their business in a shop, with a number of hands at work, and their machinery in complete operation.

Peter Tronson, representing the coopering business, by working at barrels, etc., and exhibiting ready-made pails and tubs.

Stephen Cooper, pump maker, having a log elevated on the stage and hands engaged boring and preparing pumps.

John Paris, hairdresser, with his establishment neatly rigged on a small waggon, and himself employed in making a perrywig.

COMMERCE.

Represented by a beautiful vessel about 12 feet long, mounted on ways, (drawn by two grey horses) completely rigged in the style of a man-of-war, and called the "Independence." The motto: "Free trade and Sailor's rights," was seen flying at the fore royal mast head; and was manned by two boys.

TOASTS TELL SPIRIT OF THE TIMES.

The exercises were held in the Second Presbyterian church in 1822, and for a number of years afterward. By studying the list of "toasts" given at the dinner after the church exercises, and which were published in the town newspaper, one may come into close touch with the burning topics of the time, for the popular

thought of the moment was there expressed. Sometimes they had thirteen toasts, for the original United States; sometimes they had the same number of toasts as there were States in the Union. They invariably had a number of "volunteer" toasts after the regular program. A salute was fired (after each toast was read off and drunk) by a gun's crew posted in the neighborhood of the tavern where the festivities were held. The feasting began at 2 or 3 in the afternoon. Ladies never attended these gatherings, and they were, clearly enough, times of pretty heavy drinking on the part of some of those present. The long series of toasts gave all too much opportunity for such indulgence. The President of the United States, the Country, the friendly countries, George Washington, and, after a time, Jefferson, were always toasted, as was the State of New Jersey, and sometimes Essex county, and now and then, Newark.

In 1822 the seventh toast was: "The House of Representatives; All talk and no cider. No gun; three groans." Tune, "Go to the Devil." The fifteenth toast was quite characteristic of the feeling of the times: "Kingcraft on its last legs on the Western Continent"; referring especially to insurrections in South America, "May its star soon set in the East." Three cheers. Tune, "O dear, what can the matter be." The twenty-first toast was: "The County of Essex; may its inhabitants pay more attention to their clergy than to their lawyers." The fourth of the "volunteer" toasts that year was: "The next Congress; may they think more of their business and less of their pay."

REV. HOOPER CUMMING'S STIRRING ORATION, 1823.

By 1823, a portion of the community had again become timorous of offending England by the display of militant patriotism on Independence Day. The timorous ones attended simple and more or less colorless exercises in the First Church, while the rest assembled, after the customary parade, at the Second Church, on the west side of Washington Park. There the pastor, the Rev. Hooper Cumming, son of the old soldier, Colonel John Noble Cum-

ming, and descended from the martyr, Joseph Hedden, on his mother's side, delivered a remarkable oration. It thrilled the assemblage and was remembered with enthusiasm for a generation. It was published in pamphlet form, and some of the most striking passages were as follows:

"For more than seven years the savage foe-man and the fiend-like Hessian exhausted their murderous propensities. The old man trembling beneath a weight of years—the infant smiling on the glittering bayonet pointed at its bosom—and the tender female swooning amidst her fears, were alike disregarded. Ah yes! this brings to the remembrance of some who hear me, that awful night when ruffians, instigated and guided by the more diabolical refugees, perpetrated two acts in this peaceful village of which, were they living, they could not too bitterly repent.

"You passed the spot this morning within a few steps of the sanctuary which you entered to pay your united homage to the Most High, the spot where, with vandalic hands, they consigned to ashes a temple reared to literature and science. And yonder stands the mansion¹ where Hedden, already past the meridian of life and racked with the pain of a most excruciating disorder, was compelled to leave his house at dead of night, and without a garment, in the coldest month of the coldest year ever known in our country, to travel over the frozen pavement of three rivers; every impress of his feet leaving blood behind it; was positively denied the privilege of accepting a blanket which was offered him on the way by the kindness of a friend—and all this cruelty continued throughout the distance of ten miles—and was then cast into prison and there confined for the space of almost nine months, until nature demanded release by death from the injuries and tortures he had sustained.

"And yet, forsooth, we are gravely told that we should not observe this day; or if observe it, yet only by exercises properly religious; that the Declaration of Independence should not be read, lest we offend the feelings of Great Britain; that we should erect no memorial of the heroism, the constancy and the sacrifices of our fathers, lest we should cherish an unforgiving temper. Away with the idle tale, the sick man's dream! It is the slang of the Pharisee and almost deserves the fate of treason. For it is the blow of the parricide; it is the voice of rebellion against the imprescriptible rights of human nature. * * * "

¹ Pointing to the residence of his father, General John N. Cumming, a little north of Lombardy street on Broad, the home of Judge Hedden at the time of his capture.

In a footnote to the printed oration the Rev. Cumming says in explanation of the paragraph last quoted: "There is perhaps no town in the Union in which similar objections were urged by very few. There are in Newark, as is alleged by men of veracity and discretion, some aspiring bigots whose sole object in this affair was to acquire more power that they might by obtaining additional influence, afterward lay on the ecclesiastical lash with unsparing severity."

Two of the toasts at that year's feast were: "The County of Essex; A little spot in a little State, but of great promise. For her nature has done much, but industry and enterprise more." "Imprisonment for debt, a relic of barbarism; May its opponents cry aloud and spare not, until it no longer disgraces the jurisprudence of a free country." At that time a debtor's prison was still maintained on the third floor of the county jail at Broad and Walnut streets, where Grace Episcopal church now stands.

In 1824 the observances were of the mildest character. There were church exercises, the ringing of the church bells at sunrise and sunset, but no parade or feasting, and no firing of cannon. Newark was a busy manufacturing town at that time and the manufacturing interests apparently feared that too much demonstration might interfere with their business.

"The mechanics and manufacturers of New Jersey; The strong arms of a small body," was one of the toasts at the Independence Day feast in 1824. Another significant toast on that occasion was: "Slavery; A dark spot on the disk of our political sun. May it soon disappear." Few of those who drank to that sentiment were to live to see slavery vanish, however.

ABSENCE OF DRUNKENNESS CAUSES SURPRISE.

"It affords us no small satisfaction," remarked the Newark "Eagle," a rival of the Centinel, in 1825, in telling of the Independence Day observance, "to mention one fact which we believe is an unusual one; that is, that we do not recollect to have seen

on that day anyone in a state of intoxication—we can hardly imagine to what cause it was owing, that our streets were not ‘graced’ with ‘drunken Peter’ and his retinue.”

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.

The fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was observed with as much pomp and pageantry as the town could muster. A most ambitious plan for a monument, to be erected at the apex of Military Park, where the steel flagstaff now stands, and where the original “liberty pole” was set up in 1793, was devised. A foundation was laid with elaborate ceremonies, the stone bearing the following inscription:

“The citizens of Newark, in grateful commemoration of the 50th anniversary of American Independence, have, on this Fourth day of July, A. D., 1826, deposited this stone as a foundation of a monument here to be erected; and when the dilapidations of time shall discover this inscription to future generations, may the light of the Gospel illuminate the whole world.”

The monument was to be a tall shaft surmounted with a ball. A crude picture of it was given in the newspapers. But this memorial was never erected. The originators of the plan furnished the foundation stone, and nothing else. The idea was abandoned, partly from lack of funds and because, as time went on, it was generally recognized that a monument at the spot chosen was not desirable. The stone was unearthed in 1876, somewhat the worse for the “dilapidations of time.” A few years ago it was restored, the lettering re-cut, and the whole protected by the railing as it stands today. It is noteworthy, that in the procession on that day, many of the veterans of the War for Independence rode in carriages, much as the survivors of the Civil War now are urged to do. Another interesting feature of the 1826 celebration was the promulgation of a sort of industrial census of the town, which is given in the chapter upon the early industries. There were no daily newspapers in New Jersey at that time, and the issue of the Centinel of Freedom which tells of the semi-centennial festivities, was

printed with heavy black column rules, for the nation was in mourning for Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who had both died within the week. That year the route of the procession was somewhat extended, indicating the growth of the town. It proceeded around Military Park, to Bridge street, around Washington Park to Broad, to Market street, to Mulberry street, to Walnut and thus into Broad street and up to the First church.

In 1829 the exploitation of the industries upon floats drawn by horses was revived. The procession was headed by a company of farmers, with a patent plough, followed by the fire companies with two engines. Then followed: carpenters, brickmakers, sash and blindmakers, tanners, curriers and morocco dressers, blacksmiths, silver platers, saddlers and harness makers, trunk makers, coach and carriage makers, lace weavers, painters, coopers and tobacco manufacturers.

THE CINCINNATI.

The Independence Day feast in 1831 was held at the Mansion Hotel, the Mansion House, on Broad street, nearly opposite the present City Hall. The hotel closed in the spring of 1913. The New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati dined in one room and the leading citizens in another. At that period the Cincinnati, even though composed only of officers and their sons, was more or less closely akin to what the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic are now, in that the members were many of them in modest circumstances and the others were constantly striving to aid them. One of the toasts at the citizens' banquet on that day was: "The unfortunate members of the Cincinnati, their widows and orphans; May the interest of the fund contributed for their assistance be appropriated to their relief by the Society forever." A new pension law went into effect in 1832. The first pension law was enacted about 1818. The Cincinnati, at their banquet on that day toasted: "Newark. The home of hospitality, elegance and the arts."

DANIEL WEBSTER TOASTS NEW JERSEY, 1832.

Independence Day was first called "Fourth of July" in Newark newspapers in 1832. That year there were no exercises beyond the ringing of the church bells, the firing of the federal salute at sunrise and some fireworks in the evening. This was because of the outbreak of cholera in Newark and the "consequent state of alarm" in Newark. The people feared the pest might be spread through the gathering of crowds. In 1834 there appeared in the list of toasts one written for the occasion by Daniel Webster, who was not present, but who probably gave it to Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, of Newark, who had returned from Washington but a few days before. Webster's toast was as follows: "New Jersey; The blood of the Revolution deeply stained her soil; its principles, as deeply, have imbued the sentiments of her citizens." Senator Frelinghuysen was one of the speakers at this celebration. A few years later he was candidate for the vice presidency on the Henry Clay ticket, and not long thereafter became president of Rutgers College.

In February, 1835, the sale or discharge of "fire crackers, squibs, turpentine balls or fire serpents" was prohibited by act of the Legislature, and in their issues immediately preceding the Nation's birthday the newspapers warned the boys to refrain from offending the law and urged its rigid enforcement. It was not many years before the racket was just as great and occasional accidents were being reported as before.

PASSING OF THE VETERANS.

Survivors of the War for Independence were now becoming few and feeble. One of the guests at the town banquet in 1835 was Thomas Belton, a veteran, who was then 104 years old. A toast for the day ran: "The surviving Revolutionary heroes of old Essex—Their suffering and their achievement in war have been equaled only by their devotion to the country in peace." Another toast of the day, eloquent of the spirit of advancement that then animated the community, was the following: "Internal improvements, rail-

ways and canal ways, highways and byways, but of all ways let us keep in the right way." The Morris Canal was then an accomplished fact.

One cannot look over the accounts of the celebrations of the Fourth of July from the beginning through a half century without new and vivid impressions of the mighty and steady changes forever being wrought by Time. In 1835, when this narrative of the celebrations ceases, Newark had about 18,000 inhabitants, and the next year was to become a city. Its energy and thrift had raised it to the leading place among the communities of the State, its success in manufactures was known the country around and in Europe. The story of the Independence Day observances from the first up to the establishment of the city, is, in a sense, the history of the town.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

Washington's Birthday was observed by St. John's Lodge of Masons for seven years before his death. It was publicly celebrated as early as 1794, with a salute by Captain Parkhurst's artillery of fifteen guns, one for each State, with a dinner at Gifford's. One of the artillerymen was killed while firing the salute, by the premature explosion of a cartridge which he was ramming home. In 1795 February 22 was observed with a ringing of the church bells, firing of cannon, a display of flags and with a dinner at Parkhurst's tavern, where fifteen toasts were given, including "Confusion to all societies combined to destroy our happy Constitution." At the time of Washington's funeral, services were held here, and there was a parade of militia with muffled drums and reversed muskets. For many years thereafter Washington's Birthday was observed only by St. John's Lodge. In 1862, on the day after Washington's natal day, the Newark Daily Advertiser published the following: "For the first time in our history Washington's Birthday rose to the dignity and importance of a general holiday yesterday." This was taken as a "gratifying sign of the times." The Post Office, banks and most of the stores were closed. Exercises were held in the churches.

PRESIDENT ADAMS IN NEWARK.

As far as is known, Washington was never in Newark after the War for Independence, passing to and from New York by way of the Elizabethtown ferry. On August 2, 1797, Washington's successor in office, President John Adams, paid a short visit to Newark on his way from Philadelphia to his home. "Yesterday," said the Centinel of Freedom, "the President of the U. States passed through this town, on his way to the eastward. The American colours were immediately displayed. A number of the inhabitants of the town being called together on the occasion, Messrs. Isaac W. Crane and William S. Pennington were appointed to draught a respectful address to his Excellency, and it was agreed that it should be signed by David Ogden, Esq., and presented by Mr. W. Crane. The following was accordingly drawn up and presented:

"Sir: Impressed with a high sense of the important services you have rendered your country in the various stations you have so honorably filled, since the commencement of our glorious Revolution until the present day, we take the liberty to congratulate you on your arrival and transient stay in our village, and to express to you our sincere wishes for your welfare and happiness, and likewise at a time when our external relations require internal harmony, to express our perfect reliance on the wisdom and patriotism of the constituted authorities of our government, and our full assurances that they will on all occasions pursue a line of conduct honorable and advantageous to our country. We devoutly offer our prayers to the divine disposer of all events, to support your Excellency in the various duties of your arduous office, and to prolong your useful life as a blessing to your family and country.

"Signed, in behalf of a number of the citizens of Newark,

"DAVID B. OGDEN.

"The President of the United States.'

"To which the President returned the following answer:

"Sir:—

"I pray you to communicate to the inhabitants of Newark my thanks for their polite attention, and for their kind wishes for my welfare and happiness.

"The perfect confidence they express in the wisdom and patriotism of the constituted authorities of our government—at

a time when our foreign relations require internal harmony, afford me the highest satisfaction. And I pray the divine disposer of events to reward the citizens of Newark, with all others for their patriotism.' "

As his Excellency left the village, a federal salute of sixteen guns was fired, as a farther mark of respect and esteem of the inhabitants of this town for their much-beloved chief magistrate.

President Adams again visited the village late in July, 1798, on his way to New York. A company of Federalistic militia was drawn up to greet him, together with a large company of citizens, but his coach never stopped. The shades of the coach windows were down, but in response to the cheering as the coach passed the apex of Military Park, Mrs. Adams raised the curtain and waved her hand. Late in June, 1800, according to the Centinel: "The President of the United States," John Adams, "passed through this town, without being interrupted with the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, drunken expresses to insult him on the road, loud and terrific huzzas, or any kinds of federal worship or adoration whatever—but rode in his carriage and was seen to walk the streets in the free and uninterrupted garb of a private citizen, to drink punch with the Democrats and to talk of things ordinary and local."

The above is quite characteristic of the Republican-Democratic sentiment of the time, which detested all pomp and ceremony and often went to extremes in proclaiming "all men free and equal." The "expresses" mentioned were horsemen, members of the Federalistic cavalry companies, who carried the news of a dignitary's coming by means of relays, thus informing the people of the near approach of the great man some minutes before his conveyance made its appearance in Broad street.

In October, 1798, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, one of three commissioners sent to France to try and adjust a treaty with that nation, and the man who said: "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute," made a stay here, apparently for several days. A committee of citizens presented him with an address.

TWO VISITS FROM LAFAYETTE.

In 1824 and 1825, Lafayette paid his last visit to America, and twice visited Newark. His first visit was on September 23, 1824.*

"On the morning of that day he arrived at Jersey City from New York. * * * The marquis was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette. * * * At Jersey City the general was received on the part of New Jersey by Grand Marshall General Jonathan Dayton, Major Keane of Governor Williamson's staff and Colonel T. T. Kinney. * * * From Jersey City the general was escorted hitherward by a squadron of cavalry and a numerous and imposing cavalcade. About twelve o'clock a salute from the ordnance of the Newark Cadet Artillery announced the near approach of the general and his escort. The route of the approach was along the turnpike, connecting with the bridge at the foot of Bridge street. On the other 'Bridge street' side of the bridge the party were met by a great crowd of people, and all along the way until the arrival at Major Boudinot's house, the air was vocal with the people's plaudits. * * *

"The arrangements in Newark to receive the general were on a scale of unparalleled grandeur and completeness of detail. People were attracted from all parts of the State to witness the ovation. * * * At Major Boudinot's residence* the general was introduced to the judges of the State and Federal courts, members of the Cincinnati Society, and other persons of distinction. Specially fitted up apartments were provided for the royally-entertained guest in the late residence of the Hon. Elisha Boudinot, fronting on Military Park.

"On the latter had been constructed something wondrously picturesque and beautiful, in the shape of a commodious bower, in which the general received large numbers of the townspeople. The base of the bower, which was composed mainly of the choicest flowers, covered an area of thirty-five feet in diameter.

"There were thirteen arches, one for each of the original thirteen States. The pillars were fifteen feet high and sustained a floral dome representing the Western Hemisphere. * * * The ladies of the town took an active part in preparing the wreaths necessary for the formation of the bower. William Halsey furnished the design and superintended the erection, while Moses Ward was his

* From "History of Essex and Hudson Counties," compiled by William H. Shaw, 1884.

* Major Boudinot was the son of Elisha Boudinot, one of the leading citizens of Newark for nearly a score of years after the War for Independence. The Boudinot home was on Park place and was razed by the Public Service Corporation in 1913.

assistant. The occasion was not alone prolific in floral display, but in music and poetic and patriotic sentiments. There was an address by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, and a grand and imposing military display in front of the bower under the command of Major General Doughty and Brigadier Generals Dayton and Darcy.

"In spite of the unfavorable character of the weather—it rained during the day—the ovation was a great success. The beauty and chivalry of a large part of the State, besides Newark, combined and labored zealously to that end. * * * It was a general holiday for the place."

During his few hours' stay in Newark, Lafayette, who was then an old man, was permitted to retire to the rooms in the Boudinot house, prepared for his comfort, to rest and prepare himself for his next journey. That same afternoon he left for Elizabethtown. This was for many years reckoned as one of Newark's greatest festival days. There were many old soldiers then living who had fought under him or who had come in more or less direct contact with him while under arms. Here, as elsewhere throughout the country, Lafayette displayed a remarkable memory for names and a keen grasp upon the leading episodes of the struggle for independence then, nearly fifty years in the past. His uniform tact and graciousness seems to have captivated everyone, and his deep enthusiasm for the cause to whose success he had contributed so much made him the popular idol wherever he went.

It has not been generally known that Lafayette again visited Newark during his last tour of the country. "We are informed," says the Newark Eagle in its issue for July 8, 1825, some ten months after the ovation just described, "that Gen. Lafayette will visit this State next week, and make the following tour. He will land at Hoboken on Thursday about 7 o'clock and proceed from thence to Hackensack where he will breakfast; thence to Paterson, and there partake of a cold collation; from Paterson he will take the direct road through Parsippany to Morristown, where he will dine and spend the night; on Friday he will pass through Springfield to Elizabethtown and breakfast there; he will dine at New Brunswick on the same day, lodge at Princeton—breakfast on Saturday morning with Joseph Bonaparte, and after visiting Borden-

town, will proceed to Philadelphia in a steamboat which will be waiting for him."

These plans were changed somewhat, and on his way from Morristown toward Elizabethtown, Lafayette stopped for a brief period at Madison (then Bottle Hill), lingered at Connecticut Farms, the scene of the inhuman killing of the wife of Pastor Caldwell in 1780, and then proceeded to Newark. He visited the lodge rooms of St. John's Lodge of Masons on the top floor of the Academy (some of whose appurtenances had been lent during the War for Independence to be used in Morristown at the time Lafayette was made a Mason during the War for Independence), and inspected the female school of Mr. and Miss Van Doren, which occupied a part of the Academy building. From there he proceeded to Morton's Hotel, where he was entertained by the leading citizens, headed by William S. Pennington (a veteran, like himself), at an "elegant breakfast." Thereafter he made a call upon the relatives of his friend, Isaac Cox Burnett, Esq., then American consul at Paris. He next visited the "new" Presbyterian church (the Third Presbyterian church, opposite the City Hall, organized the preceding year), where the ladies of the church were assembled to receive him. "As he was getting into his carriage," says a newspaper account, "to depart, an affectionate valedictory was delivered to him by Joseph C. Hornblower, Esq. He was accompanied to Elizabethtown by the Morris, Newark and Elizabethtown escorts."

ANDREW JACKSON AND HENRY CLAY.

Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States, visited Newark on June 14, 1833. He was on an electioneering tour, and was that fall elected to his second term as President. He came up the State from Philadelphia, by coach to New Brunswick, and there took to horse and rode to Elizabethtown, from there taking ferry to New York. He was given an enthusiastic reception there and a little later made a sort of triumphal entry into Newark. He rode his horse from Jersey City over the turnpike. He was received at Bridge street, according to an old news-

paper, "by a committee of citizens and entered the town about 1 o'clock under the customary salute, and was hailed by the acclamations of the thousands of spectators, from whence he was escorted, riding a noble charger with unusual grace and head uncovered, bowing continually as he passed through the crowd in the principal streets of the town to the inclined plane of the recently completed Morris Canal.

"After witnessing the passage of two boats over the inclined plane, the cavalcade moved to the Military Common. The troops being reviewed, the President was conducted to the Park House, on the corner of Park place and North Canal street, where such citizens as could elbow their way to his apartments, were presented. After which the President partook of a cold collation at the house of William Wright Esquire.* * * The windows were filled with ladies, who saluted as he rode by, gracefully recognizing them at every step."

Martin Van Buren, then Vice President, and who was to succeed General Jackson as Chief Magistrate of the nation, accompanied him on his visit to Newark on that memorable day.

A few months later, Henry Clay, Jackson's opponent for the Presidency at the time, and whose running mate for the Vice Presidency was Theodore Frelinghuysen, of Newark, visited the town, on November 20, 1833, by invitation of leading citizens. Because of his powerful and effective championship of protection to home industries, Clay was a great favorite in a community like Newark, which was rapidly acquiring wealth and fame because of its manufacturers. Like Lafayette and Jackson, Clay was met as he came across the Meadows over the turnpike by mounted militia and citizens in carriages. A great throng crowded around the Park House to welcome "glorious Harry of the Slashes." Amzi Dodd made the formal address of welcome, and Mr. Clay responded in a few but forceful words. After a reception, the distinguished visitor was taken on a tour of inspection through the principal

* Senator William Wright, whose home was then where the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company's building now stands.

factories of the town. The workmen at Rankin's hat factory presented him with a most imposing beaver hat. At Smith & Wright's saddle manufactory he was presented with a handsome saddle, bridle and trappings. Here a speech of presentation was made by John P. Jackson,⁶ in which he was urged to accept "these memorials from those who are indebted to your liberality and enlarged policy of protecting the domestic industry of our country. They are not decorated with the glittering tinsel that would gratify the eye of royalty, but we cherish the conviction that they will nevertheless be a pleasant offering to a plain, honest-hearted Republican."

Later in the day Mr. Clay returned to New York, and as he was leaving the company of Newarkers that accompanied him to New York, General Darcy presented him, for his "highly respected lady," the superb Newark-made carriage which had conveyed him from Newark. At this, Senator Clay was deeply moved, and responded as follows:

"Gentlemen, you overwhelm me. I know not how to refuse, and yet may I be permitted (the company here interrupted him by dissent), I assure you, gentlemen, I know not why it is that one so undeserving as myself should be so loaded with such marks of your esteem and generosity. I know of nothing in my humble service deserving of a return so splendid and so costly. It comes so unexpected. Gentlemen, my heart is too much overwhelmed; the citizens of Newark have made upon it such an impression; it can thank you, but tongue can not. Be pleased, sir, to accept in behalf of yourself and fellow-townsmen, my warmest thanks for this elegant present to my wife." The carriage was made by the firm of John Clark & Son.

In 1839 Joseph Bonaparte was the guest for a short time of the then former Governor William S. Pennington, at his home on High street, the east side, a little south of Kinney street. It is believed, too, that Daniel Webster was Mr. Pennington's guest about the same year.

⁶ One of Newark's leading lawyers at the time, one of the editors of the Newark Daily Advertiser, speaker of the Assembly, connected with the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company from its beginning; sheriff of Essex County from 1839 to 1849, and for a quarter of a century prominently identified with every important State enterprise.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RISE OF NEWARK'S INDUSTRIES—THE FOUNDERS.

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THE RISE OF NEWARK'S INDUSTRIES—THE FOUNDERS.

THE skill of Newark people at "making things" is of very ancient origin. There were men unusually well skilled at the then known handicrafts, among the founders, in 1666. They were adepts in contriving their physical surroundings to best serve their needs. We know this by the orderly and decent fashion in which they laid out their town, plotting every man's land-holdings to a nicety, contriving the first, and to this day principal streets, with a foresight that is little short of astonishing; creating means and methods to make their homes substantial and enduring abodes, with every comfort then possible in a region which was, to all intents and purposes, on the frontier, with nothing but the wilderness and its terrors to the north and west of them.

They utilized every natural force about them with deftness. They saw the possibilities of the wild apples they found growing when they came, and before the first generation of Newark settlers had passed away had developed the art of cider-making to such a point that the town was known for this product throughout the colonies. Trivial as this may seem today, it means much, for it shows that the pioneers were able to make use of such opportunities as they could discover, surpassing their neighbors on every side. They planned, and carried out their plans so well, that their village became one of the most attractive on the continent within three generations from the time the founders came into the wilderness and settled it. From the very beginnings of Newark one finds a singular, a remarkable constructive genius. In a word, Newark's skill in making and in doing things goes away back to the very establishment of the town.

A number of Newark's settlers, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, had their own looms and wove the yarn which they had spun, into cloth. When a Newark settler killed a cow or an ox,

the hide was taken to the town tanners, who were among the very first in the whole country. In 1751 or a little later, a copper mine was discovered in what is now West Hudson county, in Arlington, on the plantation of the Schuyler family. According to a tradition, the discovery was made "by a person passing along about 3 o'clock in the morning, who observed a blue flame, about the size of a man, issuing from the earth, which afterward soon died away. He marked the place with a stake, and when the hill was opened several large lumps of copper were found." This was the beginning of the Schuyler copper mine. All the ridge on the eastern bank of the Passaic, although in another county, was to all intents and purposes a part of Newark in the early days. The people dwelling across the river considered themselves Newarkers; came here to attend church services and to transact business.

Newark was the focal point for a wide region for a century after its foundation. The first stationary engine ever operated in what is now the United States was set up at the Schuyler copper mines, and it must be remembered that this mine was remarkably successful, that the copper produced was of very high grade for the time, that it was very profitable for the Schuyler family and that it aroused all of the then inhabited northern section of New Jersey to search for similar wealth. The Arlington copper mine was, therefore, among the first mines uncovered in the country, and was developed largely by Newark brains and by Newark ingenuity. Newark had an iron foundry more than a decade before the War for Independence.¹

Newark was able to tan the hides of its cattle from the very first, but it relied on itinerant shoemakers to convert this leather into boots and shoes. These travelers were in all probability more or less unwitting founders of Newark's shoemaking industry. They went about the country carrying their tools with them in the packs on their backs. They arrived in Newark, for instance, at a certain time in the year, and each family had one or more hides tanned and ready in anticipation of their coming.

¹ See Chapter XI.

Cobblers have been philosophers from the very beginning of time. As they work they talk upon the topics of the day. Their occupation does not demand that their full mentality be expended upon their work, so they have forever been free to talk out their thoughts whilst busy with their lasts. They have always been good entertainers. They stayed for days, sometimes weeks at a time, in one household, making boots and shoes for the entire family. Here in Newark there seem to have been some, probably youths, who, while listening to the talk of the traveling shoemaker kept their eyes closely riveted upon the work in hand and learned how to make shoes themselves. This seems to be the best explanation of Newark's early aptitude at shoemaking. It is pretty certain that the town was making shoes before the War for Independence.

THE FIRST NEWARK SHOEMAKERS.

In February, 1781, Gerret Sickles of Newark advertised for journeymen shoemakers in the New Jersey Journal, which was then published in Chatham, now in Morris County, because, being a sheet issued in the interests of the patriots, it could not with safety be gotten out any nearer New York. Sickles in his advertisement asked for journeymen "who understand making boots, stuff shoes, etc. They will find constant employment and best wages."

A month later another Newarker, Thomas Drake, advertised in the "Journal" as follows: "A journeyman shoemaker who understands the stuff and silk branch will meet with encouragement by applying to the subscriber, living near the [First] church in Newark,"

Newark's industries were therefore beginning to stir even while the War for Independence was going on. For two or three years after the declaration of peace we find no word in any print of industrial activity hereabouts. The country seems to have been exhausted with its struggles for the accomplishment of independence. But the people were pulling themselves together, were coming to realize that this liberty for which they had prayed and fought, now realized, entailed tremendous responsibilities. Many

things which they had been forced to look to the mother country to supply they must now provide for themselves. They were quick to see that they must develop the industries. So groups of energetic and more or less far-seeing men began to devise schemes for manufactures.

INDUSTRIALISM AND PATRIOTISM.

In 1787 the New Jersey Journal printed a notice for a meeting of "the subscribers towards The Manufacturing Society of the State of New Jersey," to be held "at Mr. Lawrence's tavern at Springfield on the first Monday in July next. We ought to view ourselves as young beginners," says this notice, "in the world, whose all is at stake and that it depends upon our virtue and good economy whether we shall be a prosperous and happy nation or sink into all the meanness of abject slavery, disgrace and contempt."

Manufacturing enterprises were, therefore, looked upon as patriotic enterprises, and those who invested their money in them or gave their energy and brains to promote them were held up as patriots of a high order. No man dreamed of the marvelous growth of the industries that was then being prepared for.

An effort was made soon after the War for Independence to establish wool raising, with the hope of building up a great industry, and the flocks of sheep which had dotted the hillsides for a century and a half increased in number.

At a Newark town meeting in 1788 it was decided to subsidize the proposed industry and to offer premiums for the best wool. "The increase of Sheep," asserted the resolution, "and the consequent production and increase of Wool being of the utmost importance to the interest and prosperity of the Country, and the inhabitants of this Township being disposed to encourage and promote so laudable a design, do agree to give the following premiums upon the Conditions following, viz.: to the person who shall shear off his own Sheep in the spring of 1789 the greatest quantity of good, clean wool, the sum of Ten Pounds." Prizes of eight, six, five and two pounds were offered to those whose products should rank next in

order. "No person shall be entitled to either of the above said premiums," continued the resolution, "unless he shall reside within this Township, and unless he shall appear before David Banks, Esq., 'innkeeper', on or before the tenth Day of June, 1789, and shall make oath to the quantity of Wool he shall have sheared, as above s'd."

In 1810 John P. Durand and John Juhel bought a large farm near South Orange for the raising of Merino sheep, whereupon the Newark newspaper announced: "The farmers of New Jersey will certainly rejoice to hear of such a laudable undertaking by two gentlemen of patriotism and capital. We believe this is the first establishment of its kind in the State."

But this industry was not destined to attain to great proportions here. The census of 1810 showed that 43,000 yards of woollen goods were made in Essex County for that year, but all in families.

In September, 1790, John Johnson of Newark announced in the New Jersey Journal, "The subscriber informs the public and his friends in particular, that his Fulling Mill is in complete order, and that he has supplied himself with the best of workmen from Europe, so that they may depend upon having their work done with care and expedition. He intends dressing all kinds of cloth and will dye them any color they may choose, except scarlet, after the first of October next."

NEWARK'S PART IN THE FOUNDING OF PATERSON.

It was in the following year that the "Society for Promoting Useful Manufactures," which resulted in the establishment of what is now the city of Paterson, came into being. Its chief promoter was Alexander Hamilton, and many of those who rallied around him to advance the enterprise were Jerseymen, several of them New-arkers. Hamilton was an ardent believer in the vital necessity for the creation of American industries. He had campaigned in New Jersey during the then recent war, and no doubt, as already intimated in this work, had grasped some of its vast possibilities for the exploitation of the useful arts. He even went so far as to

procure the employment of a number of engineers to test the waters of the several States with a view to determining which were the purest and best adapted for use in manufacturing. Some of these experts were Frenchmen. It was decided as a result of their researches that the water from the Pequannock Valley (from whence Newark gets its water supply today) were the purest and softest. The waters of the Pequannock flow into the Passaic, and it is said on good authority that Hamilton had virtually made up his mind that the "Society for Promoting Useful Manufactures" should locate its plant upon that river long before a decision on that point. Elisha Boudinot of Newark was very close to Hamilton at that time, and the now famous society actually came into being here. Behind Boudinot's comfortable mansion in what is now Park Place was a spacious orchard and garden, and in it was a summer home. It was in that summer house that Hamilton, Boudinot and others met, on several occasions, when they were intent on the firm establishment of New Jersey's industries.

Late in December it was announced: "The Society for Promoting Useful Manufactures have given notice that they will receive proposals from any bodies, corporations, townships or individuals in this State who may be desirous of securing the emoluments which will result from this establishment, which will be an actual capital of one million dollars." This, of course, meant that the promoters of the new venture were looking for the best inducements to locate in one section or another. "Expectation is on tiptoe," remarked a Jersey newspaper, in that same month, December, 1791, "for the final determination of the place where the factory of the new society is to be established. Springfield, Second River and the Falls (Paterson) are all anticipated as the proper places, but the mother of all things will bring it forth in season."

The name of the proposed manufacturing settlement was fixed upon months before the spot was chosen. The coming community was known far and wide as Paterson, as a compliment to the then Governor Paterson, the second chief magistrate of New Jersey in its history as a State. "Last Friday," said the New Jersey Journal

on May 23, 1792, "the directors of the Manufacturing Society, convened at Newark, resolved unanimously that the town of Paterson should be on the Passaic, somewhere between Mr. Isaac Gouverneur's, near Newark, and Chatham Bridge, and appointed Mr. Bayard, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Boudinot a committee to locate said town and make the necessary purchases of land, etc. We are also likewise informed that the Secretary of the Treasury, Colonel Hamilton, attended the meeting in person and has promised the infant institution his countenance and support. It is to be put into immediate operation."

Isaac Gouverneur, as has been shown in preceding chapters, was the proprietor of the fine estate called "Mount Pleasant," from which the present avenue gets its name, the estate which Washington Irving two years later was to name "Cockloft Hall." It is not easy for the present generation to conceive of the city of Paterson being located in the northern section of Newark, but, as the above newspaper notice shows, the neighborhood was reckoned as one worthy of serious consideration. As for Springfield, it was at that time looked upon as a highly favorable location for manufacturing interests. "A number of patriotic gentlemen of this town and neighborhood," said the New Jersey Journal on February 9, 1792, "have it in contemplation of establishing a company for the prosecution of a valuable manufactory at Springfield, where local advantages give it the preference to most places in the State." The Journal was then published in Elizabethtown. For two or three years after the foundation of Paterson the annual meetings of the board of directors of the society were held in Newark. In fact, the board was formally organized in the Essex County Court House, in Newark.

EARLY FACTORIES.

In Wood's Newark Gazette and Paterson Advertiser for September 22, 1794, appears the first advertisement of a paint factory, which was called into being because of the complaints of many residents of the town that the paint they bought was adulterated. This brought about a movement for the town to make its own paint. Hence this announcement:

"PAINT MANUFACTORY.

"Under the patronage of the Patriotic Society in the town of Newark, white lead, spruce and yellow ochres, Spanish brown and Venetian red, Turkey umber and red lead in cases of one hundred, half and quarter hundreds, by the ton or single pound are manufactured and offered to the public together with most colours used by Painters and Limners, all of which are equal and many superior to those imported from London and Bristol and Amsterdam.
* * * at the place of M. B. Higgins.

"By Higgins and Andruss.

"N. B. The apothecaries and physicians are informed that the Peruvian Barks, Ipecacuanha, Jallop, etc., are pulverized and bouted at the same factory on the most reasonable terms. They have also erected a machine to tritrate Mercurial Ointment. They can supply any calls of this kind at one-third the price if prepared in mortar. All orders will be strictly attended to and the usual per cent allowed for ready cash."

This factory was located on the north side of Market street, about a hundred yards west of Broad, and was but one of the several most commendable activities inaugurated by the Patriotic Society, described in a previous chapter. This particular venture does not appear to have been a success, as Higgins advertised the paint mills for sale in 1799.

Samuel C. Richards, in an advertisement, announces in the Newark Gazette of November 5, 1794, that he is about to establish an oil mill, upon the advice of several citizens, because "the country is so rapidly increasing and the use of oil so advantageous to every person that erects buildings; and it is their opinion also in having such large quantities of flax seed within ourselves, that this mill should immediately be attended to."

In December of the same year Richards & Ross, in an advertisement of window glass, conclude:

"N. B. The coach and chair-making business is carried on at the same shop, where persons may on short notice be furnished with coaches, chair coaches, stages, sleighs or sulkeys, finished in the most approved manner and in the newest fashion, warranted equal in strength and elegance to any built on the continent."

THE FIRST CARRIAGE MAKERS.

Ichabod Spining advertised for apprentices at carriage making in May, 1795. In 1804 the following were making carriages in Newark: Stephen Wheeler, Cyrus Beach, Caleb Carter and Robert B. Campfield.

The Campfield concern, which afterward became Campfield & Hedenberg, developed great skill in the making of heavy coaches. For a time Colonel John N. Cumming of Newark, who conducted stage lines and obtained many contracts for mail carrying, bought his coaches of Campfield. The latter, however, was a Federalist, while Cumming was a staunch supporter of Jefferson and Madison, and at last, in the heat of political excitement, withdrew his patronage from Campfield. The latter then sought a market in New York, and soon found himself making money for his concern and winning wide fame for Newark. Great carriages of state were made in Newark, costing as high as \$2,000 each, a handsome sum for the time, were made here for General Santa Anna of Mexico, and for a leading official in Cuba. James M. Quinby, the founder of J. M. Quinby & Co., was an apprentice under Hedenberg. In 1833 a local newspaper, in speaking of the great prosperity of the carriage making business here, tells that local concerns had just supplied an omnibus for use in the city of Philadelphia and a hearse for a purchaser in New Orleans.

"An American gentleman recently returned from Naples," announced the Daily Advertiser in 1833, "mentions that he was attracted in a street of that city one day by a crowd. On approaching it he discovered the object of curiosity to be a carriage built in this town. It appeared to be the common sentiment of the admiring bystanders that it was more comely and convenient than the huge, lumbering and unsightly vehicles of the Neapolitans. The fame of the Newark manufactures is rapidly extending, and we are grateful to learn that there is a corresponding increase in the industries."

The earliest saddlery and harness business of which there is any definite record was that of Smith & Wright, started about 1823. The factory was on the south corner of Broad and Lafayette streets.

There was a stocking manufactory in Newark in 1792 and for several years thereafter.

A shop for the making of willow hats was conducted in 1794, "at the upper end of this town, at the house of James Green." This was probably in the neighborhood of Bridge street.

Gray and Mann were in the cabinet making line in 1792.

THE PIONEER HATTERS.

Jacob Myer was making hats in a factory on Bridge street in 1800. But no one knows exactly when the making of hats began in Newark. The actual beginning of the industry probably antedates the War for Independence. It was but a neighborhood business at the best until the last century had well begun. About the time Myer advertised himself as a hat maker, William Rankin, who was to Newark's hatting interests what Moses Combs was to the shoe and leather industry, came to Newark. His son, William Rankin, and at one time mayor of Newark, wrote his reminiscences in 1889, in which appears the following:

"About ninety years ago William and Andrew Rankin were apprenticed to the hatting trade in Elizabethtown, and having served out their time and done some journey work, they formed a co-partnership and set up in business for themselves. But there was a depressing aristocratic atmosphere pervading the town, and these young men, casting about for a more congenial trade center, where Scotch energy might have fuller scope, found it in Newark, and moved here in 1811.

"After separating as partners, they built factories and opened hat stores, William opposite Trinity Church in North, and Andrew, his brother, near the old burying ground, in South Broad street. In those days the geographical divisions of Newark were uptown and downtown—there was no east and west to speak of. If one, facing the south, turned to the right on Market street, he came into the country road to Camptown and Springfield at Colonel Stephen Hay's, where is now the Court House; or if he turned to the left he struck Mulberry street, leading down to the Neck and Salt Meadows. * * *

"The most stirring daily event of the town was the arrival, about 5 o'clock p. m., of the four-horse daily mail coach from New York, with passengers for Philadelphia. The bag was exchanged

at the Post Office, a small frame building standing where Centre Market is now, and which was removed when the canal was dug. Matthias Day was the veteran postmaster, who could read from the face of the sealed letters much of the family history of his contemporaries. The contractor for carrying the mail was General Thomas Ward, whose son, Isaac, was a well known gentleman of leisure, unique in person and habit, would mount the box at the bridge, and taking up the reins and whip, with a resounding snap, would bring up artistically before David Roff's tavern, where is now [1890] our City Hall.

"Colonel Isaac Ward had the honor of introducing an improvement in one of our great industries. Returning home from a visit to Paris, he gave us the first specimen of the present style of gentlemen's pants, side-buttoning giving place to the mode of old Grimes, with his old blue coat. * * * In 1830 my father bought David Beach's house and carriage factory, embracing 764 Broad street and the one next adjoining on the south and the lot on which stands Miner's Theatre, for \$10,000, and shortly after Dr. Samuel Hay's house, now the Howard Savings Bank, for \$5,000.

"Trade was tending downtown and my father wished to follow the current." The writer of these reminiscences was the son of William, the brother who located his hatting business about opposite Trinity Church. "Not so his next neighbor, John H. Stephens, who remained securely moored through all his business life, and intercepted the Sussex teams with their country produce, exchanging it for plaster of Paris and groceries. His fixedness, combined with general intelligence and integrity, made him one of our most successful merchants. I first knew him, or rather his children as playmates, in 1816."

AN INFLUENTIAL MERCHANT.

This same John H. Stephens set up his store in Newark about the same time the Rankins began their hatting industry. During the first quarter of a century and more, after 1800, Stephens was the town's leading merchant. He began with groceries and made large sums by bartering them and other commodities for the products of the farm. He established his own water transport between Newark and New York, and was the leading spirit in a Newark whaling company which, in the 1830's, sent out a whaling ship from this port. The writer once saw the log book of this ship, the "John Wells," and it was chiefly remarkable for the quaint little stencil

pictures on the margins of the pages, showing whales in various attitudes. Stephens was one of the first stockholders in the Morris and Essex Railroad Company. Joel A. Condit was interested with him in the water transportation business, hence the Stephens and Condit Transportation Company. Not a few of Newark's leading merchants of the period just preceding the Civil War, and immediately thereafter, were once clerks in the Stephens store, which was located until near the opening of the present century opposite Military Park on a portion of the plot where the Hahne & Co. store now [1913] stands. Stephens was succeeded by Camp & Osborn, and the concern still exists as D. Osborn & Co., although devoted to but one or two phases of the original business, in Broad street, opposite the Central Railroad station.

THE BEGINNINGS OF JEWELRY-MAKING.

Benjamin Cleveland advertised himself as a gold and silversmith in 1792, while to Epahras Hinsdale is given the credit of being the pioneer of Newark's great jewelry industry. Hinsdale was doing business in 1801, his factory being located on Broad street, east side, a little distance north of Lafayette street. A little later it was quite the fashion for ladies of means to drive up in their carriages to Hinsdale's to inspect his wares. Hinsdale died about 1818. Few of the manufacturing "plants" of that day employed more than half a dozen workmen. The first concern to give Newark jewelry a wide reputation was that of Taylor & Baldwin, who were in business in the late 1820's, and whose shop was in Franklin street, near Broad.

THE FIRST LABOR AGITATION.

Labor troubles began in Newark almost coincidently with the establishment of its industries. The town had a "Carpenters' Society" as early as 1798. It had been established "to cultivate social friendship, and see that no inconvenience should arise to themselves or the public by persons imposing themselves on the builders," owners, "who have not served a regular apprenticeship to

the business." In a statement published in the Newark Centinel of Freedom on April 10, 1798, the society gives a long argument remonstrating against the high prices then being charged by masons. It says that it is a well established system that masons shall receive but twelve cents more a day than carpenters, but adds that the former are now, some of them, charging \$2.87 a day for themselves and as high as \$1.75 and \$2.37 a day for their boys. It serves notice on the people that this is too high, but that if anyone pays those amounts to masons they will be required to pay a higher wage than they have hitherto paid to carpenters; that they will have to pay carpenters within twelve cents as much as the masons. The carpenters recommend that masons be paid a maximum of \$2.25 per day. The article concludes with this:

"These observations are not made on account of the scarcity of work, but to bring this class of citizens within the bounds of moderation."

NEWARK'S EARLY BREWERIES.

In May, 1795, Caleb Johnson, of what is now South Orange, but then a part of Newark, advertised that he was brewing ale, porter and table beer. Several spasmodic attempts at brewing were made in the next two or three decades, but the industry was not definitely established until 1831 by Thomas Morton, in High street a little south of Orange street, on the west side. In 1804 a brewery was built in Newark, but just where there is no apparent means of knowing. We would not have knowledge of this brewery were it not for the fact that Sayres Crane, according to the newspaper account, was fatally hurt at the "raising" of a brewery late in November of that year.

In 1812 appeared the following: "Newark Brewery. The subscriber respectfully informs the public that he has commenced the brewing of Strong Ale, the flavour and quality of which he flatters himself will meet their approbation. He also intends brewing Porter and Brown Stout, which he hopes will put a stop to the importation of Brown Stout. * * * Thomas Tool."

It is plain enough that Newark had its own home-brewed beer and ale from the very first decade of the last century.

In 1827 appeared the following advertisement: "Brewery. For Sale, at Newark bridge, west bank of Passaic," Bridge street, "five hundred bushels per week can be brewed. This is a most eligible opportunity to embark in this business, being in a thickly populated neighborhood," Newark then had about 8,500 inhabitants, "and commanding an extensive custom. Caleb Sayres, agent."

In 1809 there was an earthenware factory in Orange street, not far from Broad street.

MOSES COMBS AND THE LEATHER INDUSTRY.

But it was, after all, the making of shoes that attracted the eyes of the outside world to Newark. It was shoemaking that laid the actual foundations of Newark's industrial strength, that created the fundamental although unwritten laws for the advancement of Newark as a centre where useful things were well made and at reasonable prices. The making of shoes to sell to people outside of the Newark neighborhood seems to have first appealed to one far-seeing, hard-thinking man, Moses Newell Combs. As has been told in a preceding chapter, a planter from the South, Colonel John Rutherford, stopping at Archer Gifford's tavern, heard of the industry of a local manufacturer, and expressed a desire to know more about him and his shop. He visited Mr. Combs' place on Market street. The stranger was well pleased, and gave Mr. Combs a handsome order. This was in the early 1790's, and from that time down to the present moment Newark has never ceased to ship larger or smaller quantities of the fruits of its workmanship to distant points. Mr. Combs' first customer was from Georgia, and it is recorded that his order was for two hundred pairs of sealskin shoes. Later on Mr. Combs received as high as \$9,000 for a single order of shoes.

GENIUS FOR ORGANIZATION.

But it was not so much his skill at making shoes that made it possible for Moses Combs to put Newark's industries upon a new

and profitable basis as it was his masterful genius for organization. He was a tanner before he was a shoemaker. His shops were on Market street, on the south side, a little above Plane street. "Comes's alley," on the north side of Market street, is believed to have been named for him, although misspelled, and this today questionable honor seems to have been the only public recognition that has ever been made of his service to the community.

It is a most significant fact that the apprentices' indenture for at least the first half of the last century showed evidence of being drawn up along the lines pursued by Mr. Combs in his business practice. "The universal condition of apprenticeship," said a Newark writer in the Daily Advertiser in 1863, "was not only to be taught the trade, art and mystery of the business, but apprentices were to be provided with good and wholesome food, washing and lodging, a certain number of quarters of night-schooling, and to be found good and comfortable apparel, or an allowance of a certain specified sum of money in lieu thereof, with a perfect control of their boss over their morals.

"It is not my intention to write the biography of any man, but a man so marked in character as Mr. Combs and who had the training and forming of the characters of men who figured in their day among the most prominent business men of our city, and men who had the liberality to attribute to him the credit of laying the foundation for their success and position in life, should not be lost sight of in the success of those who are indebted to him for the foundation on which grew the superstructure * * * of the most important business of the city and the adjacent country until circumstances drove the business from the place."

Many of the first apprentices to Newark's manufacturers were descendants of the Dutch families located in the northern and western sections of the county. In the shops Dutch was spoken almost as much as English. Seven pairs of shoes was a week's work as a rule. Rated at fifty cents a pair, the master figured to realize about \$3.50 a week from each apprentice.

ZEAL OF THE MANUFACTURERS.

The early shoe manufacturers lived a life of almost ceaseless toil. It was a common practice for the master and owner of a shop to start out at daybreak with the previous day's product from his shop in a bag or sack, which he carried on his back, and to walk with it to what is now Jersey City. He was too poor or too penurious to ride on the stage wagons. From Jersey City he took the ferry to New York, disposed of his wares and returned by the same method, reaching his shop in the mid afternoon in time to inspect that day's work and often to toil among his men until darkness set in. Whether Moses Combs subjected himself to this rigid method of building up his business is not clear; the fact remains that the practice as outlined above was typical of the time and of the men who laid the foundation for Newark's industries. Mr. Combs, like some of his competitors in the business of shoemaking, appears to have been a veteran of the War for Independence, and he would not have spared himself if he thought it necessary to walk to the New York markets with his goods on his back.

Moses Combs was the actual father of Newark's industries, although he was far and away from being the first tanner or shoemaker. It was through him that the town's industrial system was formed. It was Moses Combs who seems first to have grasped the idea that Newark-made goods could be pushed into markets elsewhere, and he was the man that made those goods known, and through his honest and fair dealing gave Newark products a reputation from the very start. He saw with rare sagacity that the future of Newark's industries lay in the efficiency developed in the boys and young men whom he and others had grouped around them as apprentices, so he set himself to work to make his employees more capable. In other words, he strove to do what many of the most progressive manufacturing corporations are seeking to do in this generation. But he was a century ahead of his time, although what he managed to do in this direction bore remarkable fruit in his own time, or immediately thereafter.

COMBS AS A REFORMER.

"About the year 1792," says a writer in the Newark Daily Advertiser in 1865, one who was either an apprentice of Moses Combs or closely associated with some of those who were, "Mr. Combs, having several apprentices, was in the habit of calling them together after the hours of labor for the purpose of study and for moral and religious instruction. Soon after, he prepared a large room and furnished it and supplied teachers. He afterwards erected a building on the south side of Market street, near where Plane street now runs. The lower part was occupied for a meeting house and the upper part for a schoolroom, after which it was divided into two departments for a male and female school, which was used for the purpose for which it was built for many years. When Plane street was cut through the building was removed to the corner of Market and Plane streets, where [in 1865] it now stands."

Moses Combs strenuously advocated three things many years ahead of his time: emancipation of the slaves, temperance and universal education. He was old-fashioned in but one way; he never wore a superfluous button on his coat, which, of course, made him more or less conspicuous in those days of brass buttons galore. He was not altogether fortunate in his first emancipation experiment, for a black man he was the means of setting free was afterwards hanged in Military Park for killing his own wife, as already told in another chapter of this work.

He was a regularly ordained preacher. He was a liberal contributor to the building funds of the First Presbyterian Church, the one now in use, and which was erected chiefly through the endeavors of Pastor Macwhorter. So far as can be learned the only church over which Mr. Combs presided was that which he himself erected on Market street, as just described. He disapproved of some phases of the religious teaching of the First Church and he and his associates withdrew and for a period attended the First Presbyterian Church in Orange. Subsequently the Combs church and school were erected and he and his congregation held services there. After a time the Combs religious society was disintegrated and most of its members went back to the old First Church fold.

THE FIRST FREE SCHOOL

Moses Combs did not build up a profitable manufacturing business for the sake of a personal gain. Money seems to have meant little to him unless he could do good with it. About the time he made his ever-memorable sale of shoes to a Georgia planter, Mr. Combs established his night school for apprentices. The first published announcement of the school appeared in John Wood's Gazette in October, 1794, and was as follows:

"An evening school, for teaching Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, is now opened at Mr. Combs' school house under the tuition of Mr. Dod, on the following plan:

"1. This school to be kept three evenings each week, from this time till the first of November, beginning at half after six o'clock and ending at nine; and from the first of November to the first of March to begin at six and end at nine o'clock, five evenings each week—after which period to the first of June, to begin at seven and end at nine, three evenings in each week.

"The proprietor of this school will furnish it with firewood and candle light at his own expense, and demands only Ten Shillings (\$2.50) for each scholar for the whole of the time above mentioned. But will make no allowances to those who shall quit the school before the time expires, as his object is purely to persuade the young people to acquire as much learning as they can. He hopes parents and others who have youths under their care, not now at school, will second his views, by sending them if they approve of this plan at his school."

It was not long before pupils were admitted to this school free. It was probably the first night school in the United States, and was one of the first free schools in the country, (and possibly the first). In that same year the New Jersey Journal, recognizing Moses Combs' free school was something extraordinary, published the following: "A worthy, industrious Newark mechanic in the town of Newark maintains at his own expense a School Master of a reputable character who teaches the English Language, Writing and Arithmetic to about forty children, among them the poor are taught gratis, at his annual expense of £20. Noble philanthropy! Honorary to human nature and Christianity."

COMBS' MANY ACTIVITIES.

The Combs school was a place for the plain people, a place where working boys could fit themselves for a broader sphere in life if they chose. Not a few of the pupils of the school became men of influence in the town later on. Moses Combs was among the ten leading manufacturers of leather in Newark as late as 1812. He invested his money in various public enterprises and from purely patriotic motives, as was the custom of the leading men of the time, when the money lust had not yet become offensively in evidence in the little community. He was treasurer of the Springfield-Newark Turnpike Company in 1806, and the same year was giving his money, with others, to improve the old ferry road (now Ferry street) and to reopen the old ferry connecting with that road, which had fallen into disuse since the opening of the bridges over the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. In 1812 he offered for sale four building lots at the junction of what are now Springfield and South Orange avenues, for money or in barter "for soal or upper leather." He was in the group who established Jersey City, buying up the land in great stretches and developing it. He was among the founders of the Newark Fire Insurance Company, and one of its directors. He was actively identified with the organization of one of the first of Newark's banks. When he came to die he did not leave a vast estate, even for his day and generation. He had worked quite as much for the betterment of Newark as for his own prosperity, in fact more. He was a remarkable and most valuable man to Newark, and well deserves the space given him here. His best service was, of course, the providing of ways and means for poor but industrious youths to make more out of themselves than would have been possible had he not extended to them the privileges of education. Some of his direct descendants are living in Essex County to this day.

LEATHER AND PROSPERITY.

From 1790 to 1803, or thereabouts, the leather business in Newark consisted of tanning, currying and shoemaking, all three branches being carried on by the one concern. About 1803

the subdivision of the industry began and each branch soon proved enough for one concern to attend to. In 1804 the first bank in all New Jersey, the Newark Banking and Insurance Company, was established. It had a speedy and beneficial effect on business; the town showed the new influence in increased prosperity. The banking business brought elements of confusion, however, for not a few of the business folk of Newark, long accustomed to giving each other their notes, and because of their confidence in each other's business honesty, were sometimes lax in meeting their obligations in the bank. Little by little, however, those unbusiness-like methods disappeared.

In 1806 Mr. Charles Basham of the Newark Academy made a map of Newark. A picture of a shoemaker at his last was given in the lower left hand corner, and because of this it became known as the "Shoemaker Map." Mr. Basham, very fortunately for us of today, gave the following descriptive line under the shoemaker in his map: "Newark is one of the most pleasant and flourishing towns in the United States. It is on the main road between New York and Philadelphia, nine miles from the former and eighty-seven from the latter. Its stone quarries are visited by travelers from curiosity. It is noted for its cider, the making of carriages, of all sorts of coach lace, men's and women's shoes. In the manufacture of the last article one-third of the inhabitants are constantly engaged." A few years later it was asserted that nearly if not quite nineteen-twentieths of the town's industrial population was engaged in work that required the use of leather in some form and for some purpose.

Others of the pioneer shoemakers besides Moses Combs were: Luther and Calvin Goble, Aaron Roff, David Crowell, Jonathan Belden, David Hays, Joseph Case and Ephraim and Enoch Bolles. The Bolles brothers subsequently became the fashionable boot and shoe makers of the town. They introduced many improvements into the manufacture.



Luther Goble

LUTHER GOBLE.

Luther Goble seems to have been of very much the same stamp as Moses Combs and nearly a generation younger. He was an apprentice of Combs and a pupil in his free school. He helped powerfully to uphold the principles of business practice which Combs had laid down. He was a builder as well as a manufacturer, and erected scores of plain homes in various sections of the town for his workmen and for others. He fell from one of his own buildings in 1833 and died from his injuries a month or so later, and the *Sentinel of Freedom* said of him:

"This death is a serious loss to the town. Mr. Goble was one of the most useful as well as most esteemed citizens, and his death is a subject of common regret. He commenced business here in a common sphere many years ago, but by well directed enterprise and industry his own business was soon enlarged, and with it the business of the place. And we have no doubt that a faithful history of his life would show that the present size and prosperity of the town is more owing to his individual and public enterprise than to any other single man. His history shows a remarkable example of the influence which one individual may exercise in the advancement of society. In the pursuit of his private aims Mr. Goble always scrupulously regarded the rights of others and the paramount interests of the country. His influence was always on the side of public order and Christian morals. He contributed largely and habitually to the various political and religious interests of society and hundreds among the laboring and poorer classes of the town have occasion to remember with gratitude his judicious counsels and liberal benefactions; and whatever may be the extent of his possessions, the most precious legacy he leaves to a numerous family is an unsullied character, a name associated with probity and honor."

By 1812 the enterprise and energy of the manufacturers of Newark and the neighborhood, together with the superiority of their carriages, boots, shoes, hats, etc., had created a demand for all that could be manufactured. The war gave a great impulse to the leather trade. Large contracts were procured by the manufacturers of Newark and Orange for soldiers' boots and shoes, harness and war material of all kinds. Government contracts were usually

shipped to Philadelphia. This business continued until 1815. During the war of 1812 shoes were wagoned all the way to Savannah, Georgia.

The leather business continued to be the basis of the principal manufacturing interests of Newark and the neighboring towns for a long time thereafter, and to the liberality of the men engaged in it in giving credits to beginners in business without any other capital than their industry and integrity of character may be attributed the great prosperity of Newark's boot and shoe trade, for which Newark was more celebrated for quality and quantity produced than any other place in the country.

EARLY MOTIVE POWER.

The first motive power applied to manufactures in Newark was, of course, water power, which the many little streams made it comparatively easy to get. Animal power was also utilized to drive machinery from quite early times, by means of treadmills. Oxen sometimes furnished this power, as well as horses. In the treadmills animals were made to walk on a place almost as steep as the roof of a house, on slats of wood which moved downward as fast as they were stepped on. As the slats moved wheels beneath were turned. These mills are still in use, and may be seen in some of the rural districts in New Jersey for the sawing of wood, threshing of grain and for other farm purposes.

In 1810, in a foundry on Market street, a blower was used and an ox walked the treadmill to make the blower go. The first printing presses in Newark were operated by hand. Steam for power in shops and factories did not come into use in Newark until about 1825, when Seth Boyden made a steam engine for the use of the Newark Lime and Cement Company. That engine is preserved in the museum room of the Newark Technical School, in High street. Boyden made the second steam engine used here, and for the Phoenix Works, in the rear of Market street, near Lawrence. Before 1829 John C. Hedenburg, in a shop in Mechanic street, near Broad, had a small rotary engine for the turning of carriage axles.

As has been shown in Chapter XI, Newark had an iron foundry before the War for Independence. It was on the north corner of what are now James and Washington streets, and was continued until just prior to the erection of the original building of the Second Presbyterian Church in 1810. Whether this foundry was continued in operation after removal from the church site is not known.

SETH BOYDEN; A REMARKABLE MAN.

Moses Combs taught the people of Newark that they could make things well enough for other people to want to buy them, and out of his free school came a number of sturdy young men who advanced the standard of Newark industrial proficiency. But it remained for a youth from New England to put Newark industries on so high a plane that the town was to become known far and wide as one of the most progressive manufacturing communities in all the United States. And that youth was Seth Boyden. All things considered, he was perhaps the most remarkable man in the entire two and one-half centuries of Newark history. He towers high above the rank and file of Newarkers in all generations. He was a man of singular gifts, of profound mentality, with a quickness of intellectual grasp that made him the wonder of his time in the world around him. Like most great men he labored chiefly, almost solely, for the general good. As one surveys Newark's entire growth it seems as if Seth Boyden were the one man, with the sole exception of Robert Treat, absolutely essential to the achievement of the prosperity we know and enjoy. As time goes on his attainments will be more clearly perceived, and, perhaps, more substantially appreciated. He toiled for the good of his fellow men. He wrought tools and devised methods whereby Newark might immeasurably increase the variety and volume of its industrial output, and always with an advancing excellence in the grade of the product. His influence upon the welfare of the community was but imperfectly appreciated until he died, on March 31, 1870, and the fact that his fame was not more loudly exploited while he was still alive was largely due to his own modesty. In 1867, at the age of 78, he was

working for his daily bread. A movement was started for the raising of a fund which should make him and his family independent. But he deprecated it at once; virtually forbade it.

In 1872 a meeting was held at the Newark Opera House for the purpose of inaugurating a movement for the creation of a suitable memorial to him. General Theodore Runyon, afterwards Chancellor of New Jersey, and still later Ambassador to Germany, was the chief spirit in this enterprise, and made the leading address upon that occasion. Some funds were gathered as a result of this demonstration, but it was not until 1887, when the Board of Trade took up the cause, that it was pushed to a successful culmination, and on Wednesday, May 14, 1890, the Seth Boyden statue, the work of the sculptor Karl Gerhardt, of Hartford, Conn., was unveiled in Washington Park, with appropriate ceremonies. From the addresses of General Runyon, at the Opera House meeting in 1872 and at the unveiling of the statue, is derived most of the information concerning Seth Boyden's life and services given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Boyden was born in Foxboro, Mass., in 1788. His paternal grandfather was one of the "minute men" of Massachusetts in the early days of the War for Independence. His maternal grandfather made cannon, ammunition and other metal equipment for the Continental army. His own father was a privateersman in the War for Independence, was made prisoner and was for a time confined on the British prison ship "Jersey," in New York. Seth was a sturdy patriot himself, far more beneficent in his patriotism than most, for he made himself an instrument for the upbuilding of the industries. From 1823 to 1830 he was captain of a company of militia in Newark in the Third (Newark) regiment, when John I. Plume was colonel.

HIS FIRST INVENTION.

He came to Newark in 1815, when he was twenty-seven years old. He was repairing watches when a boy of fifteen in his Massachusetts village. Before coming to Newark he had made machines

for making brads and files of different sizes and for cutting and heading tacks. He brought with him to Newark his device for splitting leather (and it is more than probable that he came here because of Newark's wide reputation at that time for the excellence and progressiveness of its leather industries). This device was at first used to shave down the inequalities of leather so as to present a smooth surface, but it was later applied to splitting hides and then to splitting other substances.

"This was obviously," says General Runyon, "a very important and valuable invention, not only for smoothing leather, but especially for increasing, by at least doubling, the quantity of leather obtained from a thick hide."

SURPRISING VERSATILITY.

Seth Boyden had no trade; he could do almost anything he set his hand to. "He was endowed by nature," to quote again from General Runyon's address at the unveiling of the Boyden statue, "with a surprising aptitude of practical mechanical operations. Much that other men could learn only after years of instruction, he seemed to know by mere intuition; and the skill and dexterity in the handling and employment of tools which are usually acquired only after long practice he possessed naturally. * * * In his later years, when he wished to study astronomy, he made his own telescope of great power, doing much of the work upon it with his own hands. He made his own electrical apparatus. He made for his own use a rifle with a lock of peculiar and ingenious construction, and he made also an air gun. He made a microscope of great power. He painted a miniature of himself on ivory when he was but eighteen years of age. He engraved a label for his books and he engraved also a portrait of Washington, both on steel. * * * He made a watch case of oroide with only a hammer and a small foot lathe for tools, and this he did when he was over eighty years of age. When one of his eyes was affected by some malady and physicians were in vain, he undertook to treat the disease himself, and to that end constructed an instrument of

great magnifying power by which, with the aid of a mirror, he could with the eye which was unaffected look into and examine the condition of the other. * * * The articles which I have mentioned are by no means all that he made, but they show his wonderful versatility and natural mechanical ability. And these qualities were exhibited on a larger scale when he entered upon the business of manufacturing machines. * * *

FIRST PATENT LEATHER MADE IN THE COUNTRY.

"In 1818, while he was engaged in manufacturing silver plated articles for harness and carriages, he set about experimenting to discover the process, then unknown in this country, of making glazed or patent leather. A piece of such leather was shown him. It is said to have been a fragment from a German military cap. By analyzing the coating or varnish he in a short time discovered the process and produced an article better than that which had been exhibited to him. The factory in which he carried on the silver plating business was burned in 1818, and in December of that year he built a shop for the manufacture of patent leather. There he made the first side of that article ever manufactured in this country. He carried on the business there until 1831, when he sold it out to a Brooklyn firm. He at first dried his varnish on the leather, except the last coats, in the sun, and those coats in a warm room. He made but little of the goods in the beginning, and sold what he made to harnessmakers for blinds. In 1820 he made an oven which would hold sixteen skins and he finished about seven a week."

In 1822 his sales for the year of patent leather reached \$4,521. In 1823 his sales reached \$6,475; in 1824, \$9,703; 1826, \$12,144; 1826, \$13,169. In 1829 the sales totaled \$20,341 for the year.

The real reason for Seth Boyden's sale of his patent leather business seems to have been his desire to go more deeply into the manufacture of malleable iron. He discovered the process on July 4, 1826, when all his fellow townsmen were holding high festival in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The day was therefore made especially noteworthy in the annals of Newark.

BOYDEN'S MALLEABLE IRON DISCOVERY.

"What is called malleable iron," said General Runyon, "was known before Mr. Boyden discovered it, but he invented it as truly as ever a man invented anything wholly new and previously unknown. Cast iron was brittle, and on that account many articles of common use could not be made of it, and they were necessarily made of wrought iron. If they could be made of cast iron their cost would be much lessened. Hence it was a disideratum to so treat cast iron that it should regain its fibre and softness.

"The history of his discovery is this: While he was a lad he was employed in a furnace. The fire bed of the furnace being worn out, it was torn down, and during the process he discovered that part of a cast iron bar which had been near the edge of the fire bed and had been subjected to the action of the fire, had the appearance of wrought iron, while the rest, the part which was in the wall, had not. He took the bar to a blacksmith's shop and experimented with it. He found that by heating the part which had been in the fire of the furnace he could draw it, but the other part was hard and brittle; that is, he discovered that by some process unknown to him but undoubtedly through heating, part of the cast bar had regained fibre and softness, while the rest had not. What the process was he, years afterwards, while engaged in manufacturing patent leather here, set out to ascertain.

"After the day's work in the patent leather factory was done, he would engage in melting and refining a small quantity of pig iron at the forge and casting it into spikes, which he would try to anneal in a small furnace containing a small quantity of anthracite coal, in his kitchen fireplace.

"It was on Independence Day, as mentioned above, that he finally discovered the process."

Later he engaged actively in the manufacture of articles out of malleable iron in the foundry at 28 Orange street. His catalogue of articles manufactured shows that he made more than one thousand different things. He sold out the business in 1835, to a Boston firm, which became a corporation and was long known as the Boyden

Malleable Cast Iron and Steel Foundry. He received \$25,000 for the business. There were at one time no less than eight malleable iron foundries here. In 1828, the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia awarded Boyden a premium for an exhibit of buckles, bits and other articles of annealed cast iron which are understood to have been remarkable for their smoothness and beauty.

THE BOYDEN LOCOMOTIVES.

When he gave up the making of malleable iron, Boyden applied himself to the making of locomotives. It was about that time that the Morris & Essex Railroad was in process of construction. The officers of the road believed it impracticable to haul cars up the steep grade from a little west of Broad street, with a locomotive, and they were disposed to do it by means of a stationary engine. James Vanderpool, president of the road, called upon Boyden to advise them. He went over the ground carefully, and modestly said he thought he could build an engine that would do the work. He did it. He built three locomotives shortly after, the "Essex" and the "Orange" for the Morris & Essex road, and the "Cometa" for the Cardenas Railroad in Cuba, going to Cuba to set up the latter. His were the first locomotives built in New Jersey and were made at his shops in Orange street, near High. His first locomotive, "Orange," did the work of drawing the train up the grade, which was one hundred and forty feet to the mile, a feat that hitherto had been regarded as impossible. The locomotive "Essex" did as well, later. Before Boyden's time the power was communicated by means of a crank axle, the crank inside of the wheel. He attached the connecting rod to the driving rod, outside, in place of the crooked axle inside, thus gaining the highest possible leverage, the most direct action, the least friction and much greater economy in the cost of construction.

"His claim to this great improvement has been questioned," says General Runyon, "but never successfully."

"My first improvement in stationary steam engines," wrote Boyden himself, "was the cast iron frame or bed; my next the introduction of the straight axle to the locomotive in place of the crank,

which is now universally used; my greatest invention in the steam engine was the cut-off in the place of the throttle valve, and connecting the cut-off and the governor together."

This last invention was an invaluable discovery, and Boyden applied for a patent in 1845. But when the Patent Office demanded a model he paid no attention to the request and thus his invention became common property.

BOYDEN AND S. F. B. MORSE.

He made the first daguerreotype made in this country; "this he did," explains General Runyon, "not by discovery, but from a description of Daguerre's process for producing the sun pictures. As usual with him, he improved upon the process. Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, hearing of Boyden's improvement, asked permission to witness the process, and he and two other gentlemen interested came to Newark for the purpose, and were gratified. Mr. Boyden was the first to use a reflector in taking a daguerreotype. He used the reflector from his telescope.

* * * Out of the acquaintance with Professor Morse, formed in connection with daguerreotyping, grew relations between the men in reference to the electric telegraph, as to which Morse consulted Boyden who aided him in many very important respects."

Boyden once made a fire engine for the City of Newark, and when it was finished the city fathers found fault because it differed in construction from other engines in that the pipes from the cylinder to the air chamber were of a curved instead of a rectangular form. He said to them: "Gentlemen, you read your Bibles, no doubt, more than I do; you go to church, no doubt, more than I do; but I observe the laws of God as well as you do. God, in all His works, never made a right angle."

SMEETING ZINC ORE.

New Jersey zinc ores were for a long time of little value, because it was not possible to smelt them. Large sums were spent trying, fruitlessly, to find a workable process. Boyden discovered a method to produce the spelter from the ore, about 1848. Shortly

after this he succumbed to the "gold fever" and went to California, staying there two years and returning as poor as he went. He devised a process for making Russia sheet iron, whose manufacture in this country had previously been too expensive to compete with the foreign manufacture. Influential men negotiated with him for his secret process, and they got it, he exacting only a pledge that they reveal it to no one else. But many others got the benefit, through his proverbial carelessness or indifference to the acquirement of money.

Seth Boyden's last invention was a contrivance for forming hat bodies. This he made in his old age. It was one of the few inventions for which he obtained a patent. Just before he died he said that he had enough undeveloped ideas to occupy two lifetimes.

In his later years he removed to Hilton. There he bent himself to the development of the strawberry. It was he who first grew the famous "Hilton" berries. It was at Hilton that he established the fact, with a piece of copper wire, that electricity traveled from the earth to the clouds as well as from the clouds to the earth. Benjamin Franklin's achievement with his kite has been world-wide knowledge for much more than a century; but few are aware of Boyden's discovery.

Seth Boyden died on March 31, 1870, at the age of eighty-two, and was laid to rest in Mount Pleasant Cemetery. At his funeral it was said of him:

"The memory of Seth Boyden belongs to the American people. Nearly every family throughout the land have had their labors lightened by his inventions. It would be difficult to find a cunning worker in leather, brass or iron whose toil has not been made lighter by Boyden's discoveries. The iron horses and chariots with their thousands of travelers, which follow the iron threads from the Atlantic to the Pacific, feel the touch of his genius at every vibration. As a man and a citizen, his praise was on every lip. He was absolutely without avarice, as he was without wealth."

Another wrote of him at the time of his death: "His grand ideas were scarcely perfected before they were applied, frequently with profit, to others. His was a quiet, natural life, without great

trouble or sorrow. He was respected by everyone that knew him, his kindly nature and genial disposition rendering him a friend to all."

"Few men," wrote another, "have lived lives of more unobtrusive usefulness, or been more regretfully remembered than he."

A few more telling paragraphs from General Runyon's address at the unveiling of the Boyden statue seem essential in order that Newarkers of this and of succeeding generations may attain to a full and clear understanding of the character of this, in any age and clime, remarkable man:

A TIRELESS WORKER FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

"The education which he obtained in his youth and childhood was very scant. He was at school but two months in a year and throughout his life he labored under the disadvantage which the want of early instruction entailed upon him. It was, of course, at the outset of his business life, difficult for him to understand the terms used in scientific books and conversation. While he was conscious daily of his defects and disadvantages, that consciousness did not deter him from effort, which was eminently successful, to supply the one and overcome the other. He was poor, but poverty could not extinguish his zeal for knowledge. Nor were his industry and perseverance ended with the nightfall or when he had retired to rest, for in bed his thoughts were upon his studies, or the problems he was endeavoring to solve, and he wrote in the darkness by the aid of a contrivance of his for guiding his hand, the thoughts that came to him in the night season.

"He never asked for nor expected pecuniary compensation. His experiments and discoveries were not made as a means of gaining wealth. There was nothing sordid in his nature. What he did sprang from the very highest motives, the love of knowledge and the desire to promote the public good. He relinquished to others the benefit of his acquirements and his discoveries almost as soon as they were made.

"The site for his statue is well chosen. In this immediate neighborhood he lived a considerable part of his life. When he came to Newark he lived on Broad street, between Bridge and Orange streets. He made the first side of patent leather in his shop on Broad street, a few doors above Bridge street. To enlarge his business, he moved to a place on Bridge street, near the river, and it was there that he made the first malleable iron castings. His machine shop was on High street, near Orange street.

"When he made a useful discovery he announced it, and, giving it to the world, set at work to make another. His nature was full of benevolence. He served his Maker by serving his fellow-men. It has been well said of him that his anvil was his altar. He was of a kindly nature. He loved man and bird and beast. The little bird whose nest was in the branches of the tree near his house, tamed by him, would take food from his hand and feed it to her young. He taught the fish in his pond to come to him to be fed, and they became so familiar with him that they would not shrink at his touch. Even some of the wilder animals that would flee at the approach of others, learned to treat him as their friend.

"He was a true philosopher, and noble illustration of what a man may accomplish by his own unaided effort. He well deserved the praise which the late Secretary Frelinghuysen, who formed no hasty judgment nor pronounced any unmerited eulogium, bestowed upon him when he declared him 'the peer of any man.'"

Boyden's first Orange street plant was near High street, on the north side of the former, to the west of the church (1913). There was a pond there, long known as Boyden's pond, and part of the source of the town's original water supply. It was there that he built the locomotives. His last malleable iron foundry was at 28 Orange street and was established in 1822. It was acquired in 1871 by John Barlow, who had worked with Boyden. In 1913 the Barlow Foundry Company erected a large plant on New Jersey Railroad avenue, between Hunter and Alpine streets.

NEWARK'S FIRST INDUSTRIAL CENSUS.

On that memorable Independence Day, 1826, when Seth Boyden was perfecting a process that was to send the town's prosperity upward by leaps and bounds, there was announced Newark's first industrial census, prepared by the town assessor, Isaac Nicholls. It gave the population as 8,017, and contained the following information:

Three Iron and Brass Foundries, twelve workmen; one Cotton Factory, six workmen; three Tin and Sheet Iron Factories, nine workmen; one Coach Spring Factory, ten workmen; one Chocolate and Mustard Factory, eight workmen; one Tobacco Factory, thirteen workmen; one Looking Glass Factory, four workmen; one Soap and Candel Factory, four workmen; one Earthen Pottery, three workmen; one Rope Walk, two workmen.

Besides these, three Distilleries, two Breweries, and two Grist Mills. The number of hands employed not given. All those employed in trades and other branches are enumerated as follows: Shoe Makers, 685; Carriage Makers, 64; Carriage Trimmers, 48; Carriage Painters, 21; Carriage Smiths, 77; Carpenters, 89; Chair Makers, 79; Hatters, 70; Curriers, 61; Saddlers, 57; Masons, 46; Coach Lace Weavers, 36; Cabinet Makers, 35; Tailors, 35; Jewelers, 22; Blacksmiths, 19; Plane Makers, 17; Tanners, 17; Silver Platers, 15; Bakers, 15; Carters, 12; Saddle Tree Makers, 12; House Painters and Glaziers, 10; Wagon Makers, 8; Trunk Makers, 7; Coopers, 7; Stone Cutters, 6; Last Makers, 6; Butchers, 5; Plough Makers, 4; Pump Makers, 1; Morocco Dressers, 3; Brush Makers, 3; Gun Smiths, 2; Watch and Clock Makers, 2; Tallow Chandlers, 1; Lock Masons, 1; Printers, 7.

RAPID GROWTH IN THE 1830's.

In 1796, Newark was called the "seat of the largest shoe manufactory in New Jersey," and was turning out two hundred pairs a day. In 1832, the town was making about two million pairs annually. The quickening effect of the industries is clearly shown in the growth of population. It rose from 8,000 in 1826 to nearly 11,000 in 1830, and it increased 1,500 in the next year. In 1835, just before the city government was created, it was 18,000. In 1833, a resident of Schenectady, N. Y., who had visited Newark about 1826, returned, and, according to the Daily Advertiser, was astounded at the improvement made since his first visit. He "found things wonderfully altered—entire new streets laid out, crowded with tenements, elegant ranges of buildings put up several stories in height, and its strong arm of Industry visible on whichever side the visitor turns his eyes."

The industrial activity brought growth and prosperity in many phases. In 1830 it was recorded that a building lot, "sold a few years ago for \$800, sold two or three months ago for \$8,000. Saturday last, a part of it sold at auction for \$3,000. In that year a business man, apparently a commercial traveler, who had traveled much and visited many cities and towns throughout the United States, remarked, while in Newark that he did not believe there was a city in the Union, or town, where so many inhabitants are to be

found in the same number of houses. "The people are remarkably industrious," he remarked, speaking of Newark. "We find them hammering away at their trades from 5 a. m. until 10 or 12 p. m. And they are looking forward to the possession of a domicile whenever they can be satisfactorily accommodated."

In 1777 there were 141 dwelling houses in Newark. In 1832 there were 1,542. Newark's first real "land boom" flourished in 1834, and for two or three years thereafter. Speculators began to buy up land right and left. There was a great inflation of realty in what is now the Roseville section, and extravagant prices were paid for land there, as it was thought the development was to move rapidly in that direction.³

³ For further information concerning the industries of Newark, see the chapters upon them from the establishment of the city government and those dealing with the Germans in Newark.

CHAPTER XXIII.

**NEWARK, MOTHER OF TOWNS—THE COURT HOUSE
ELECTION SCANDAL—LAW AND ORDER.**

CHAPTER XXIII.

NEWARK, MOTHER OF TOWNS—THE COURT HOUSE ELECTION SCANDAL— LAW AND ORDER.

AS Newark grew and waxed strong, the administration of the township's affairs became increasingly cumbersome because of the wide area over which the population was distributed. So the partition of her domain began. Newark, mother of towns, was now to part with large stretches of her great acreage, and she, as well as the smaller townships thus created, was to benefit thereby.

Springfield Township was established in 1793, being set off from Newark and Elizabethtown, and comprehending what are now (1913) the townships of Springfield and New Providence, Millburn and a portion of Livingston. It took the ancient English name of the region.

Next, in 1798, was Caldwell, being set off from Acquackanonck, and including the present Caldwell and a portion of Livingston. This was the old "Horseneck" section of the county and was named after the heroic Parson Caldwell of Revolutionary fame.

Orange Township was the third. This partition came in 1806. The whole area covered by all the four Oranges grew steadily from the close of the War for Independence. The township of Newark showed its appreciation of that fact in 1798, when it decided that on one of the three days devoted to the annual election for members of the Legislature, the proceedings should be held in Orange. The name "Orange Dale," or "Newark Mountain," was used as early as 1782. The settlers were familiar with the name Orange, for Albany, N. Y., under the dominion of the Dutch, was known as "Fort Orange" and New York City was at one time "New Orange." In all probability the name was first given to the section west of Newark because of the popular enthusiasm over the deeds of William, Prince of Orange.

Bloomfield Township was formed in 1812, being named after Governor Bloomfield. It comprised a number of "neighborhoods,"

including Cranetown, now Montclair; Wardsession Plain, Second River, Newtown, Morris Neighborhood and Stone House Plain. It included practically all of what is now Belleville.

Livingston Township was set off from Springfield and Caldwell in 1813.

In 1824 Clinton Township was established, Newark, Elizabeth, Orange and Union being drawn upon to make it. Four years later a portion of Clinton was annexed to Orange. The boundary line between Newark and Clinton was again altered in 1852, and still again in 1869.

Belleville Township was created in 1839, out of a generous section of what had previously been Bloomfield. The name, a combination of French words, means "Beautiful View."

Millburn Township was set off from Springfield in 1857. The name is of Scotch origin—the mill by the "burn," or spring.

South Orange Township came next, in 1861, being made up of portions of Clinton and Orange.

A year later Orange, Caldwell and Livingston were drawn on to make Fairmount Township, and the following year South Orange was increased by being given a part of Millburn. In the same year, 1863, the name of Fairmount was changed to West Orange, and the boundary lines altered. Simultaneously East Orange was created out of Orange. The fiftieth anniversary of its establishment was celebrated in mid-June, 1913.

Montclair Township was made up out of Bloomfield in 1869. The name was taken from the French, meaning "clear mount" or mountains.

The territory long known as Woodside was partitioned between Newark and Belleville in 1871. It had been a part of Belleville from the time that township was created until 1869, when it became a township, but two years later was absorbed by Newark. For a few years before its absorption it was known as Ridgewood.

Franklin Township was established in 1874, and the section known as Nutley was known until a generation ago as the "Nutley" Estate of Thomas W. Satterthwaite and his heirs.

Newark has, in the course of all these changes, and since, drawn back to itself small portions of its original area, acquiring parts of Clinton Township in 1869, 1897 and 1902; of Woodside, as already seen, in 1871, and Vailsburgh in 1905.

It was out of a generous slice of Clinton Township (so named in honor of De Witt Clinton, who at that time, 1835, was Governor of New York and was famed because of his energetic promotion of the Erie Canal project) that "Camptown," the present Irvington, was made. Just how it got the name of Camptown is not definitely known. Members of the Camp family, of the second generation of Newarkers, settled in the Irvington region, and it was very common in that day to give a locality the name of the dominant family, as the present Montclair was for many generations known as "Cranetown" because of the large sprinkling of the descendants of one of Newark's leading founders (Jasper Crane) who made their homes there. The theory that Camptown was so named because Washington once camped there has no standing in history, for Washington did not camp there, and if any of his soldiers pitched their tents in that section it could only have been for a brief interval. The first theory is no doubt closest to the fact.

"Camptown Navy Yard," a phrase nearly a century old, seems to have had a facetious origin in the fact that periaugers were built in the so-called Vinegar Hill section between Irvington and South Orange, launched in Bound Creek (then much larger than the streamlet that now feeds Weequahic Park lake) and thus found their way to the bay. They are said to have been built for the New York trade, and carried freight and passengers. A small schooner, the "Enterprise," was built in Camptown in 1812, brought on wheels to the bay, and used for smuggling between Canadian and Maine ports during the War of 1812.

Bound Creek was for many decades before and a few years after the War for Independence a very useful and highly important means of shipment. Farm products were brought down from the countryside, from even as far away as Morristown, in ox-carts and loaded on the periaugers, near what is now the western edge of

Weequahic Park, and in the same way goods brought from New York on the periaugers were transported inland.

Irvington was so named in 1852, at a mass meeting, in response to a general feeling among the inhabitants that "Camptown" was hardly in keeping with the dignity and prosperity of their village. The works of Washington Irving, the creator of "Cockloft Hall," were then becoming very popular, and it was decided to honor him by giving the community his name. He was invited to attend the ceremonies but politely declined.

Jefferson Village was another Essex County settlement, originally a part of Newark. It got its name about 1800, when Thomas Jefferson had become the idol of the so-called plain people. It is now a part of Maplewood.

Lyons Farms and Connecticut Farms are noticed in one of the chapters on the War for Independence. Waverly is a comparatively modern name for a portion of Lyons Farms and the Weequahic region. All these sections were at one time part of Clinton Township. There was also Headleytown, a mile and a half east of Springfield. Connecticut Farms is about two miles and a half west of Lyons Farms.

ESSEX COUNTY.

While Essex County was established as early as 1675 (as noted in previous chapters), definite boundaries were not fixed, the Assembly simply ruling that Newark and Elizabethtown should constitute a county. In 1682 an "act to erect County Courts" gives the old English name "Essex" to this county, and directs that court shall be held in Newark and in Elizabethtown. But it was not until 1710 that boundaries were first defined, as follows: "That the County of Essex shall begin at the mouth of the Raway River where it falls into the Sound, and so to run up the said Raway River to Robeson's Branch; thence west to the Division Line between the Eastern and Western Division [of New Jersey] * * * and so to follow the said Division Line to the Requaneck [Pequannock?] River, where it meets Passaic River; thence down

Passaic River to the Bay and Sound; thence down the Sound to where it began."

In 1741 a part of Essex was joined to Somerset County. On February 7, 1837, Passaic County was formed out of the northern part of Essex. On March 19, 1857, Union County was taken from the Southern portion. Townships were not formed in the New Jersey counties until 1692, when Essex was divided into three townships; first, Acquackanonck, and New Barbadoes, the latter comprising the settlements on the east side of the Passaic; second, Newark; third, Elizabethtown.

The first Essex County Court House was the original meeting house of the Newark settlers, in what is now Branford place. About 1700 a jail was built adjoining the meeting house, and the second story was used for court rooms. When the present First Presbyterian Church was completed, in 1791, the stone church on the west side of Broad street was vacated and the county courts held session there. By 1800 this court house had become inadequate. It was not large enough to meet the demands of so prosperous a county, besides, it was becoming dilapidated. The annual town meetings were held there, and the throngs that gathered seem to have used the structure roughly. The last town meeting held there seems to have been on April 14, 1806, when the following "Resolves" were adopted: "That the Township Committee be authorized to make good all damages done to the Court House at the time of holding Town Meetings therein, and to cause the same to be swept and cleaned after each meeting." The next year the minutes of the Township Committee do not locate the place of the annual town meetings, nor in the year 1808. But the minutes of the year 1809 show that the annual meeting was held in "the Court house" at Broad and Walnut streets, on the site of the present Grace Episcopal Church, which brings us to an interesting episode in Newark's history.

THE "GREAT COURT HOUSE ELECTION."

When it was determined, in 1806, that the Court House would no longer meet the needs of the county, there arose a mighty discus-

sion over the erection of a new edifice, but particularly with reference to its location. Elizabethtown and Newark were rivals for supremacy in the county, as it then existed. Elizabethtown was the stronger of the two in the Board of Chosen Freeholders, and all efforts to repair or enlarge the Court House and to erect a new one were blocked. At last it was agreed to submit the whole matter of the location of a new court house to the people at a popular election, to be held on February 10, 11 and 12, 1807, the polling to be held at Day's Hill on the first day, at Elizabethtown on the second and at Newark on the third. Seven localities were to be voted for, but Day's Hill and Newark were generally known to be the most popular sites. The Elizabethtown contingent favored Day's Hill. This hill was on the estate of Jonathan Day. The tract is on the east side of Springfield avenue. Its western boundary is the line that separates Newark from South Orange township. The eastern boundary fronts on Forty-second street. This information was obtained from searches made by the Fidelity Trust Company. It was felt by many that Day's Hill was a central location, as the county was then constituted. But, of course, the people of Newark were loath to see the county seat taken from their town.

The whole county worked itself into a state of intense excitement. Mass meetings were held and the politicians of the day expounded the desirability of one site over the other to great length. The feeling ran so high that it was reckoned as not altogether safe for a resident of Elizabethtown to visit Newark or for those of Newark to show themselves in Elizabethtown. Two Newarkers are said to have had a bucket of tar poured over them while in Elizabethtown.

WOMEN AT THE POLLS.

When the days of election came, all sense of honest and fair dealing seems to have been lost sight of. The county was in a state of hysteria. All means were apparently taken to accomplish the ends desired. On the first day, the election being held at Day's Hill, there were rumors of fraudulent voting, in the afternoon, and these

served to stir the rival cohorts to all manner of sharp practices. A voter had his choice as to which polling place he should vote in. Many voted in several—of that there seems to be not the slightest shadow of a doubt.

In those days the women of New Jersey had the right of suffrage, and they were called upon in the excitement of the hour to lend their aid to one side or the other. Numbers of them voted several times. Youths disguised themselves as women and deposited their votes. Prominent citizens made no scruples of gathering together all the women they could induce to vote. Men were brought into Newark by the boat load from other sections of the State. In a word, the whole election was but a travesty and makes a sadly grotesque paragraph in Essex county's history. In all the succeeding century there is nothing in the county annals in the way of corrupt elections to even approach it.

Men and women of hitherto unapproachable character seemed to lose all sense of political honor. In the 1880's there were two women living in Newark who openly stated that as young women they had each voted no less than six times in the "great Court House election." On the last day, when the voting was done in Newark, the polls were opened at one o'clock in the morning. There seems to have been no attempt to challenge anybody's vote. It is recorded that emissaries were sent to Elizabethtown to keep track of the vote counting there, and every time that Day's Hill was reported as being ahead, greater energy was exerted to obtain votes for Newark, by fair means or foul.

NEWARK'S HOLLOW VICTORY.

The results of the election were announced from the old Court House in Branford place. The Elizabethtown contingent had voted almost solidly for Day's Hill, with a total of 6,181. But the supporters of Newark, to be continued as the county seat, were 7,666, a majority of 1,485. Alas, the entire population of Newark township as it was then constituted was less than 6,000, and there were cast at the Newark polls a total of 5,039 votes, or but 961 less than

the total population of Newark three years later, when the 1810 census was taken! The fraud stands boldly out in these figures, and an analysis of the Elizabethtown returns shows a similar state of affairs. The seven polling places were at the following locations: Newark, Elizabethtown, Acquackanonck, Springfield, Caldwell, Westfield and Rahway.

"The election," said the Centinel of Freedom, "was the most warm and spirited ever held in the county of Essex, and probably ever witnessed in the State. For weeks preceding the election the most indefatigable labor had been spent by each in organizing for the election. When the 10th of February arrived, every man stood ready at his post prepared for the combat; every town and village was divided into districts and men specially appointed to see the electors to the polls. Every nerve was strained by each party to ensure success."

There was unbounded enthusiasm in Newark over the result. The church bells were rung, bonfires were lighted and the steeple of the First Church was illuminated. But there was to be a stern awakening. The Elizabethtown forces denounced the election as reeking with fraud, a most truthful contention, even although their own skirts were none too clean. The whole affair became known from one end of the State to the other as a most scandalous proceeding, and the next Legislature set it aside, as corrupt and illegal, a decision that pleased the Elizabethtown folk immensely.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW JERSEY.

It was this unsavory episode that virtually put an end to woman suffrage in New Jersey, which the women of the State are now striving to regain (1913), albeit on a far more enlightened basis. There is nothing in history, however, to show that the women were any more blameworthy than the men for the 1807 scandal.

The history of women's suffrage in New Jersey is concisely given in Vol. VII, pp. 101-105, Proceedings, New Jersey Historical Society, by William A. Whitehead: "By the laws of the Lords

Proprietors, the right of suffrage in New Jersey was expressly confined to the free men of the Province, and, in equally explicit terms a law passed in 1709 prescribing the qualification of electors, confined the privilege to male freeholders, having one hundred acres of land in their own right, or worth fifty pounds current money of the Province, in real and personal estate, and during the whole of the Colonial period these qualifications remained unaltered.

"By the constitution adopted July 2, 1776, the elective franchise was conferred upon all inhabitants of this colony of full age, who are worth fifty pounds, proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election." Similar restrictions were made in the several successive acts regulating elections until 1790, and there is no evidence of women having taken advantage of the phrase 'all inhabitants up to that year.' In 1790, however, Joseph Cooper, a Quaker and a member of the Legislature of New Jersey, while serving on a committee revising the election laws, urged that women be specifically given the right of suffrage, by the interpolation of the phrase "he or she." He wished the State to extend the same privileges to women as did the regulations of his religious congregation. His fellow members on the committee agreed to this at his request, and the change was accordingly made in the laws. There was still no voting by women as far as is known. The amended law of 1790 was repealed in 1797, but the "he or she" clause was preserved in the new act, the suffrage being conferred upon 'all free inhabitants of this State.'"

In that year, 1797, occurred the first voting by women of which there is record. There was a sharp contest for member of the Legislature from Essex County. John Condit, who stood for Newark and the upper section of the county, as a "Federal Republican," was one candidate, and William Crane, favored by Elizabethtown and the lower section of Essex as it was then constituted, was the other candidate. He was a "Federal Aristocratic." The Elizabethtown political managers made up their minds that the county was pretty evenly divided between the two candidates and they planned

a surprise. Just before the polls were closed "a number of females were brought up, and under the provisions of the existing laws, allowed to vote [in Elizabethtown]; but the maneuver was unsuccessful, the majority for Mr. Condit in the county being 93, notwithstanding." It was said that about 75 women voted. The leading Newark newspaper of the day, the Centinel of Freedom, waxed highly sarcastic over this episode, and ironically advocated the "admission of females to office" as well as to the diplomatic service.

Women did not vote again in New Jersey until 1800, in the Presidential campaign, when Adams and Jefferson were the candidates. On that occasion, "females voted very generally throughout the State; and such continued to be the practice until the passage of the act positively excluding them from the polls. At first the law had been so construed as to admit single women only, but as the practice extended the construction of the privilege became broader and was made to include women 18 years old, married or single, and even women of color. At a contested election in Hunterdon County in 1802, the votes of two or three such actually elected a member of the Legislature." The exclusion of women from the polls occurred the very next year after the Court House election in Essex County, in 1807, "and it is noticeable that, as the practice originated in Essex County, so the flagrant abuses which resulted from it reached their maximum in that county and brought about its prohibition." The preamble of the new law of 1807 is, under the circumstances, interesting:

"Whereas, doubts have been raised and great diversities in practice obtained throughout the State in regard to the admission of aliens, females and persons of color or negroes to vote in elections, as also in regard to the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of voters in respect to estate; and, whereas, it is highly necessary to the safety, quiet, good order and dignity of the State to clear up the said doubts by an act of the representatives of the people declaratory of the true sense and meaning of the constitution, and to ensure its just execution in these particulars according to the powers thereof"—etc, etc.

If the women of New Jersey felt this heavy-handed slap at their qualifications for the suffrage, they seem to have made no sign

of protest whatsoever. There seems to have been no thought of woman suffrage for fifty years thereafter. The first note in the present movement was sounded in 1858, when Lucy Stone, of Orange, wrote a letter to the tax collector for the district in which her property was, returning her tax bill unpaid. In the letter she said: "My reason for doing it is that women suffer taxation and yet have no representation, which is not only unjust to one-half of the adult population, but it is contrary to our theory of government. For years some women have been paying their taxes under protest * * * the only course now left us is to refuse to pay the tax * * * We believe that when the attention of men is called to the wide difference between their theory of government and their practice * * * the sense of justice which is in all good men will lead them to correct it. Then we shall cheerfully pay our taxes—not till then."

NEWARK RETAINS COUNTY SEAT.

The Court House stayed in Newark, despite the great scandal, and authority to erect a new one here was obtained from the Legislature. A site was donated for the purpose by Governor William S. Pennington, on the north corner of Broad and Walnut streets, where Grace Episcopal Church now stands, and ground for the new edifice was broken in October, 1810. The stone out of the old meeting house, and the jail and Court House adjoining each other in Branford place were used in the Broad and Walnut street building. It was a large three-story structure, with cells for the jail prisoners in the cellar, traces of which may still be made out under the church. There was a debtors' prison on the top floor. While the Court House was being erected court was held in the Eagle Tavern, at Broad and William streets, and a brick house adjoining, on Broad street, was used as a jail.

On August 15, 1835, the Broad and Walnut street Court House was burned down, when it was at first proposed to erect a new temple of justice in Lincoln Park. The foundations were actually begun, but the project was abandoned and the grim old brown stone structure, on the site of the present Court House, at the junction

of Market street and Springfield avenue (and its immediate predecessor), was built. The present building was completed in 1907, and its predecessor in 1837, the cost of the latter being in part defrayed by the county's portion of the surplus revenue of the Federal government distributed in 1836. In the wall at the right of the 1837 Court House was a large block of marble, part of the old meeting house, the immediate predecessor of the present First Presbyterian Church, and which was devoted, as already told, to court purposes in 1791 when the new church was finished.

When the Court House at Springfield avenue and Market street was erected, the present county jail, at Newark and Wilsey streets, was built.

SUNDAY OBSERVANCE.

In sharp and striking contrast to the lamentable moral lapse evidenced in the altogether remarkable Court House election of 1807 is the movement for stricter Sunday observance, inaugurated in 1798, in Newark, and continued with intermittent vigor for several decades; indeed, occasional evidence of much the same spirit may occasionally be detected down to this day. The descendants of the Puritan founders of Newark could tolerate such license as that described in connection with the Court House election, and even participate in the illegalities then practiced; and at the very same time they were striving to enforce the "bluest" of "old blue laws" to be found on the statute books. It is hard indeed to reconcile the inconsistencies in their code of morals and ethics; in fact they are irreconcilable.

As the village began to bestir itself, throwing off its ancient seclusion and repose, in response to the quickening influences of industrial activity and the opening of an ever-increasing number of lines of communication with the outside and surrounding world, the leading residents became gravely apprehensive lest their pretty little community was to be given over to an abuse of many of the rules for right living and good conduct which they had had instilled into them from generations back. So, in 1798, on July 10,

a "Voluntary Association of the People of Newark to Observe the Sabbath" was organized. This was its own statement of its case:

"It being at all times proper for those who acknowledge themselves dependent creatures on the Supreme Being, and who call themselves Christians, to reflect upon their ways and reform whatever they think is contrary to the word of God; but more especially when the Judgements of God are abroad in the world, and appear with a menacing aspect on our own country—And as the sanctity of the Sabbath is generally acknowledged by all Christians; and the experience of ages teaches, that whenever a vice, like a flood deluges a land, it commonly breaks in with a destruction of the holiness of that day, the observance of which seems to be daily lessening in this Country, to prevent which dreadful calamity—We, the subscribers, Inhabitants of Newark in New Jersey, deeply impressed with the importance of the religious observance of the Sabbath, not only to the existence of our holy religion, but to the happiness of our Country—do associate and agree as follows:

"1. That we will neither give nor partake of parties of pleasure or entertainment on that day.

"2. That we will neither ride out nor travel (except in cases of necessity) on that day.

"3. That we will regularly attend divine worship on that day, and compel our children, apprentices and servants to the same as far as in our power lies.

"4. That after divine service is over we will keep our children, apprentices and servants at home and not suffer them to go abroad on that day.

"5. That we will exert ourselves to suppress all manner of employment and worldly business on the Sabbath.

"6. That we will exert ourselves to assist and support the officers of Justice to put the laws in force against those who shall violate them on that day—and we will appoint a Committee from time to time of at least seven persons to assist the officers in carrying these Resolutions into effect.

"7. That we will also extend our exertions to support the magistrates and officers of Justice to prevent all the immoralities and vices pointed out in the law for preventing vice and immorality."

To this document were signed the names of nearly ninety of the leading citizens.

ZEALOTS COME TO GRIEF.

This law and order movement continued for a long time. It carried its promoters into strange excesses of zeal; for while they

reduced the local offenders to a state of comparative inoffensiveness, for periods, they could not carry out their ideas of Sabbath observances upon occasional visitors without arousing opposition. Members of the committee actually forbade the coach carrying the United States mail to leave the town on Sunday. They were promptly notified that upon the next offense they would be taken in irons as prisoners to Washington. The mail coaches were unmolested thereafter. Two Frenchmen, on their way through Newark to embark on a vessel for France, from New York, reached this town on Sunday. They were told they must remain here until the following day. They consulted counsel, and the law and order supporters were advised to let the strangers pass on, and the travelers proceeded.

A young army lieutenant, believed to have been none other than the future General Winfield Scott, was stopped by the zealots as he was driving through the town in a curricule. Scott did not appeal to the law, but drew his pistol and threatened to shoot those interfering with his progress, and he had no further trouble.

Another group of travelers, in 1814, when told they must remain here until Monday, submitted, with apparent resignation, putting up at one of the taverns in Market street. But on Monday, as the travelers were leaving, they told the landlord to collect his bill of \$16 from the members of the committee who had stopped them. And this "mine host" is understood to have succeeded in doing by means of a law suit.

Simultaneously with the Sabbath observance crusade there was a strenuous effort to eradicate intemperance. Stocks were set up on a plot of ground in front of the Old Burying Ground, at Branford place, and persons in their cups were to be confined there. This roused violent opposition on the part of a number of young men, who were members of the "Garret Society," a company of congenial spirits, apparently apprentices or young mechanics. The "Garrets" and others descended upon the stocks the very first night after they were erected, tore them apart and piled the fragments upon the town pump, which stood in the centre of the "Four Corners" plaza

of Broad and Market streets. On another occasion they made a demonstration in front of the home of one of the chief leaders of the temperance movement and proposed giving him a coat of tar and feathers. He escaped this ignominy by use of his mother's hat and cloak, passing from the house unidentified.

The Garret Society once published a little book in which its members voiced their protest against their strait-laced fellow townsmen. In it we find the following:

"There are a set of designing men in this peaceable and flourishing village who are disturbing the characteristic peace and harmony of the place—who, under the cloak of religion, or through a blind zeal, are making an attempt against your birthright—Liberty. They aim at universal dominion; will have church and state united—they will govern with a rod of iron—citizens of Newark we forewarn you of your danger, we beseech you to pause, to reflect, to act ere it is too late. Act with calmness, but act firmly and show them by your deeds that you yet deserve the name of freemen. It is duty you owe your children, your country and your God."

SOME CAUSES OF THE UNREST.

But the Sunday observance and the "cold water" movements were by no means made up entirely of intolerants. There was a certain basis for concern over the future of the little community, early in the last century. To begin with, it must be remembered that morals, in this country, immediately after the War for Independence, were at a rather low ebb, and the laws enacted in the young States did not always command the respect desired. The churches roused themselves to improve matters, and here in Newark they were exceedingly active. The stirring of the industries brought many boys and young men into the town as apprentices. Their masters often made too rigid rules to promote their good conduct and right living, and the youngsters naturally enough objected, but they did not always express their disapproval either wisely or well. There were no police, and only three or four constables, who were never very active at night. Then came a revival of the night watch, organized in 1798 or thereabouts. But these worthies were quite unable to cope with the situation. The young-

sters occasionally ripped off the gates from in front of the homes of the most dignified citizens, piled them in a heap and burned them. They enjoyed the tumult and the racing and chasing and were very willing to hazard the chances of capture for the fun they got out of it.

THE NIGHT WATCH IN 1827.

In 1827 the Newark Town Meeting decided to ask the Legislature for the power to raise money for the maintenance of a night watch, the cost to be assessed upon the inhabitants of the town. This was virtually the beginning of a police force, although such an institution did not actually arrive until the city government was formed. In 1827, too, the section of the town to be patrolled by the night watch was set down, as follows: "Commencing at Mill Brook [Clay street], running along the Passaic river to Commercial Dock; up Mulberry street, down Broad street to the forks of the road by David Hay's house at the south end of the town [at Clinton avenue and South Broad street]; along the south [west] side of High street to the place of beginning." This gives us a good idea of the real area of the town proper in 1827.

Newark seems to have taken the initiative in the Sunday observance movement in this section of the State. When the committee organized in 1798, as already told, it does not seem to have thought of its neighbors. It soon found, however, that strict methods here might tend to drive some of its inhabitants into other places for Sunday relaxation. So in 1801 it issued a statement that it would "stop all gaming, horse-racing, Sabbath-breaking (such as unnecessary travel by stages or in any other way)", and invited the adjacent towns to co-operate with it.

A NEWSPAPER SERMON.

The following, from a Newark newspaper of June, 1811, shows the moral attitude of the time:

"Melancholy! On Sunday last an apprentice boy named Matthias Edison who had gone into the river Passaick to bathe was, in a moment of thoughtless security, drowned. His body has not yet been found.

"Should not this alarming Providence, as well as other accidents that frequently happen to Sabbath breakers, be an awful warning to the youth, and at the same time lead parents and those entrusted with apprentices to be more circumspect toward those committed to their care? The profanation of the Sabbath by strolling apprentices and servants is among the crying sins of this town and loudly calls for a remedy."

LAWLESSNESS DESCRIBED IN VERSE.

Newark was growing too rapidly for its village form of government. Its township committee had neither the power nor the facilities to preserve good order, nor to attend to many other important features of local government. Here is a clever bit of verse, written by some Newarker of education and literary taste, in 1821, and published in the Centinel of Freedom. It provides a humorous side to the situation, while giving us a glimpse of the actual state of affairs. It is unfortunate the writer did not give his name for publication:

Hoa! Jack, get up and call the watch!—away!
Tell them to hurry here, and say
That bedlam has broke loose, or hell,
And the mad tribe are passing to and fro'
"Making night hideous" with their dismal yell!

"Dare be no watchmen in this town you know,"
Ah! true! true!—well, get you up and go
To the "fat Alderman" with speed!
Tell him it is a "sorry time" indeed;
And say that "under cover of the night"
A Bacchanalian crew,
Scaring the very stars, whose light,
Disgusted at so foul a sight,
Indignantly withdrew!

"Why, dare you be mistaken, sir, agen!
Dis town hab no sich fings as aldermen."
Confusion! madness!—I forgot—I knew!
"'Tis true, 'tis pity!—pity 'tis, 'tis true!"
But Jack, I can't give up the matter so!—
Go to the Justice!—to the Justice go!
Rap loud and long, till the shrill echoes brawl,
And if he come not at your rapping, call!

Tell him injustice with tremendous stride
(Taking advantage of the night to hide
His odious form) is stalking far and wide!—
Tell him loud uproar with obstreperous tongue
Frightens the midnight hour!

Debauchery, lascivious and young,
The day's restraint foregoes!
And red intemperance revels in his power,
And cheats the commonwealth of its repose!
My lady starts affrighted from her dream!—
My children cover up their little heads and scream!
The cats, wild mewing, to the garret fly!
The watch dogs howl and the shrill cocks reply!
"O! 'tis a sorry night" for men below!—
Go to the Justice!—to the Justice go.

"Ah, dare, sir, now, you make I sadly weep!
Why you no tink de Justice be asleep!"

Asleep!—asleep!—Well, wake him then or pound
Upon his door till you alarm the town!

"Alas! sir, should I pull his building down
He would not wake! de Justice sleeps so sound!"

"Ye powers of darkness! Spirits of the deep!"
"The dead alone in such a night could sleep!"
And yet in all this outrage, noise and dread,
Is Justice slumbering calmly in his bed?
"Oh for a lodge" in some obscure retreat,
Which has not e'en a tavern nor a street!
Where riots, revels, and the midnight roar
Of drunken joy may ne'er disturb me more;
And where the Sabbath is not ushered in
With deeds profane and Bacchanalian din!

Newark, 12 o'clock Saturday night, March 10.

THE GERMANS AND LAW AND ORDER.

With the coming of the German and Irish immigrants the demand for a more liberal ordering of the community's affairs became more insistent. The great body of the townspeople did not understand these new-comers. Newark was very glad to have them

work in its shops and on its farms and roads, but it could not comprehend why the strangers should object to living as they themselves preferred to live. The descendants of the Puritan founders often misinterpreted a genuine and innocent tendency toward recreation and relaxation as license, because they were unused to it. They expected the foreigners to work hard from sunrise to sunset and often later, and forego the various diversions to which they had been accustomed at home and which generations of experience had shown were comparatively harmless when wisely and intelligently controlled.

In 1853 a committee of German residents presented a petition to the Common Council asking for a more liberal enforcement of the Sunday laws. The petition was denied and the city marshal instructed to "execute the law." The opposition grew steadily stronger, however. In July, 1879, a mass meeting was held at which three thousand persons, principally Germans, protested against a reform movement then in progress. Other meetings were held, the leading spirits being always the most respected and upright German citizens. Liberal organizations were formed in a number of the city wards. About this time a central committee was formed. A procession of protest against "blue law" enforcement was held in September, 1879, with ten or twelve thousand citizens in line, a large number of floats and about five hundred wagons. Protests against the "tyranny of the law and order people" grew louder. The liberals named a candidate for mayor, William H. F. Fiedler, and that same November he was elected by a majority of over thirty-four hundred, a large one for the time.

Since then the strife between liberal and conservative has continued in Newark with intermittent energy. In fact, as we have seen, the conflict is a century old or more. At no time has all the virtue and right abided in either side. Those who have cried out against tyranny and interference with personal liberty have not always been free from intolerance themselves. It is a world-old struggle, and apparently an endless one.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BUILDING OF THE STREETS—WATER TRAFFIC— RAILROADS.

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BY 1802 the care of the highways had become a problem of large and growing dimensions, and was really responsible for the establishment, first of districts, then of wards (the latter in the early 1830's, just previous to the incorporation of the city) and next of districts within the wards. The first, the district subdivision, of 1802, provided no less than thirty for the township of Newark, as follows:

First, Lyons Farms; second, Bound Creek; third, Camptown; fourth, North Farms, roughly defined as being between Springfield avenue and Orange road, now Orange street in Newark and Main street, in Orange; fifth, Centre Hill, from Chatham road to Connecticut Farms; sixth, Vaux Hall district; seventh, Jefferson Village; eighth, South Orange district; ninth, South Orange; tenth, Orange; eleventh, Orange district; twelfth, given no name, but comprehending the northern part of West Orange and extending to the Caldwell line; thirteenth, South Cranetown (lower Montclair); fourteenth, "Williams' district, including the road leading to Swinefield to the top of Second Mountain to Caldwell line, including cross roads"; fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth districts, comprising approximately all of the Newark of to-day; twentieth, North Second River, including the present Belleville. The next seven districts covered the northern and part of the north-western section, as far as the Paterson line, and including Franklin and Bloomfield. The last two districts, apparently added after the system had been laid out, dealt with upper Camptown. Each of these districts had an overseer of highways.

The ever-increasing press of road and street development and upkeep caused a subdivision of the more or less informally determined four wards of Newark into districts, in 1833. The wards were vaguely and to us unsatisfactorily defined; and by the four cardinal points of the compass. Each district had its road overseer.

North Ward: First district—All north of Bridge street on the east side of Broad street and all north of Orange street on the west side of Broad street. Second district—All south of Bridge street, including Bridge street, and the remainder of the ward not included in the first district.

South Ward: First district—All of this ward west of Broad street, south of William street, to the South End schoolhouse, in South Park. Second district—All of Broad street within the ward to its junction with the Camptown district, and the "Newark South" district, including the cross streets east to Tichenor's lane. Part of this lane still survives and with the same name, running from the junction of Parkhurst and Austin streets, southeasterly to Poinier street, near Avenue B. It ran to Broad street originally, to what was called "Tichenor's Gate," in the days of the settlers and for some time thereafter, marking the southern end of the settlement. Third district—All of Mulberry street within the ward and all the streets and roads east of Mulberry street.

West Ward: First district—All of this ward north of Market street, to the North Ward, including the Crane road, which is now the Market, Bank and Warren route to Orange of to-day, bearing the name of Crane road until it joined with the Orange road, now Orange street, near Thirteenth street. Second district—All of Market street as far as to Nelson's gate (now Nelson place). All of the ward south of it.

East Ward: First district—All of this ward north of Market street, embracing Market as far east as Mulberry street. Second district—The remainder of this ward south of Market street, including Market street from Mulberry to Commercial dock. Market street then ended at the dock. The old Ferry Road did not enter into consideration then as a boundary line.

THE NEW ARTERIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

Every new highway was like a new artery to the body politic, bringing "new blood" into the system, causing what may truthfully be described as the "growing pains" of the now thoroughly awakened County of Essex, and forcing the partition of the ancient

Newark into many smaller divisions. In a generation after the opening of the nineteenth century a more economical and efficacious system of government was imperative—and then Newark became a city.

One of the most useful of those "arteries," in addition to those mentioned in Chapter XVIII, was the Newark and Mt. Pleasant turnpike. From Orange it runs almost due west through Livingston and Hanover, to Whippany, thence to Morristown. The same year the township of Orange was set off, 1806, a charter was granted for the construction of a turnpike from Newark to Morristown. "In the early years of this," the last, "century, there was a general desire," says Wickes in his History of the Oranges, "to facilitate the communication between the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and to open the interior of New Jersey by easier methods for the transportation of its agricultural and mining products to tidewater. * * * From 1801 to 1828, fifty-four charters for turnpikes were granted by the Assembly; thirty-five of which were passed during the first thirteen years of the century. The demand for turnpikes at that time was not unlike that for railroads in these latter days. And of the whole number of turnpikes so authorized more than one-half were actually constructed.

"The Newark and Mt. Pleasant road passed through Orange, and was laid, for the most part, on the old highway which had been surveyed in 1705. Orange street in Newark, from a point about four hundred feet above High street, was then [1806] opened, as it now runs, and was 'worked' as far as its intersection with the old Crane road," described in the previous chapter. From this point, at the present North Thirteenth street, "the turnpike was laid out anew for a distance of about six hundred feet, leaving the old road to the north. This part still remains open to public use and is honored with the name of Hedden place. No other change was made until the turnpike reached the open space in front of St. Mark's church in West Orange, where it left the old route toward 'Wheeler's,' and, turning to the north, took a direct course to the base of the Mountain. * * * The turnpike was continued to Morristown, and thence, by the Washington turnpike, to the Delaware River. This was for many years the principal means of travel from Easton, Pa., and from Warren, Sussex and Morris counties, to the Passaic River, and the waters of New York Bay.

"Another great thoroughfare from the interior was down the Pequannock River, over the Paterson and Hamburg turnpike, to the head of Pompton Valley; and thence by the Pompton and Newark turnpike through Bloomfield and Newark to New York.

"In the fall and winter season these roads, for the first three days of each week, were alive with teams and heavy Jersey wagons, carrying butter, grain, flour, pork and other farm produce to market. The last three days of the week witnessed their return, freighted with sugar, molasses, Jamaica rum and merchandise of all kinds, for the shop-keepers in the interior.

"The traffic was economically managed. The feed for the teams was carried upon the wagons, and often the food for the men who drove them. One shilling was the uniform rate, at the way-side inns, for each stabling and lodging for the night, as well as for a single meal at table. The evenings at these inns were festive occasions. The bar-room was primitive in construction and furniture; but it was well warmed by stove or open fireplace, and often crowded with guests. Frequent tumblers of hot toddy—made from applejack or whiskey—opened the hearts and loosened the tongues of the assemblage; and song and story followed in quick succession. * * *

"Previous to the extension of the Morris and Essex Railroad to Phillipsburg, these caravans of Warren and Sussex wagons were a bi-weekly spectacle on the main street of the Oranges. We have been told by old residents who remember them, that they have sometimes seen as many as thirty teams in line. But the turnpikes were beaten by the railroad. The charters were surrendered; the [toll] gates were taken down; and the roads abandoned to the public. And the country taverns, thus deprived of their principal source of income, have either gone out of business entirely or have lost their old-time gayety and prosperity."

The changes wrought by the building of the Mt. Pleasant turnpike as just described, were quite typical of those brought about in all directions where new, or rather better ordered, highways were set up. In comparatively few instances were any of these turnpikes entirely new, the old cart paths, which themselves were nothing more nor less than the broader and clearer defining of the ancient Indian trails, were usually the basis upon which the highroads were built. Little by little, time saving became an element in road building, and wasteful curves were cut off and grades reduced. For many years, for at least three decades after the War for Independence, the annual Town Meeting, and the Township

Committee, found their chief business in the development and improvement of the highways and in the care of the poor.

A map, showing all the streets in Newark that have been built in the past, and that have been laid out on paper, if drawn upon the city map as it now is would make a most inextricable maze. There are as many streets, plotted, or formerly in use and now forgotten, as there are streets in actual use to-day, according to the testimony of a city engineer in 1913. All of which shows that Newark has been extremely sensitive to the impulses of the moment in its development, and has never, since the day of the founders, had a definite and farseeing plan for growth. It is not unfair to blame the founders—one might as well censure the framers of the Constitution of the United States for failing to provide for the emergencies of to-day. The men who came into the wilderness and made the Newark of to-day possible, gave future generations a sure and safe basis upon which to improve the talents which they left to them. The community drowsed and dozed for a century and more, and, after the War for Independence when the industries began to stir, and the village was forced to provide facilities for growth, the men at the head of affairs found themselves unprepared, although they rose, as the years passed, to meet the increasing emergencies.

NEGLECT OF THE STREETS, 1807.

Complaints as to the neglect of the streets of Newark have been made for more than a hundred years. One of the first came as far back as 1807, when sickness was unduly prevalent. "At a time like the present," wrote "A Citizen" to the Centinel of Freedom on August 25, "when an epidemic has spread almost universally through our town, would it not seem well for us to enquire whether sufficient attention has been paid to the means of preserving public health? What is the situation of our streets? Are they in a state of cleanliness? Are they freed from stagnant water, from putrid substances, or do they present a scene of filth and putrefaction? The latter is the case; it is not unfrequent to see dead animals in our streets and about our public market house the

feet and heads of dead animals. These things are offensive; they pollute the air we breathe and have a sensible effect on our health.

"These gross violations call loudly for public interference. Causes will produce their effects, and what are we to expect if abuses of such nature are suffered to pass unnoticed, but a repetition of them and their natural consequences, disease and death?"

In 1809 this appeared in the *Centinel*: "A traveller begs leave to ask the citizens of the handsome and flourishing town of Newark if it would not be beneficial and to them honor, to have at least one good road for carriages through the place? If they shall answer in the affirmative, he will then flatter himself that when he shall again journey through the town he will not, as at present, be impeded in his way by so much mire and dirt."

FIGHTING ENCROACHMENTS, 1800-1810.

About 1800 the people of Newark began to grow apprehensive lest the town should lose some of the ground that belonged to it. So some years later a law was enacted by the Legislature "to ascertain the exact original boundaries of the principal and most ancient streets." By that law every encroachment was moved back, all fences, railings, etc., that were beyond the line were demolished except in cases where the fences or rails protected areaways, stairs, etc. There was much debate over this new law, and nothing was done for several years. In 1810 this announcement was published:

"Inhabitants of the town plat of Newark take notice! Agreeable to an act of Legislature passed for the surveying and defining the lines of the streets in the town plat of Newark, passed in the year 1808 and amended in the year 1809, the commissioners," of highways, "have been called to run said streets, and in so doing there appears to be many barns, shops, sheds, chair houses and fences further out than the line of the street. This is to notify all such persons that own where such encroachments are, to have the same removed in 30 days agreeable to law, and as it has been an undertaking of considerable cost and expense to the town, it is presumed that we shall have all encroachments moved and our handsome town built in a regular manner for time to come."

The agitation leading up to this enactment must have begun even before 1802, for in that year, early, a committee was appointed

at a special session of the town meeting, to consider ways and means for the abatement of the assumption of ownership in town lands by individuals. That same year this special committee made the following interesting, and to us of to-day, instructive report:

STRIVING TO STIR CIVIC PRIDE.

¹ "That the first Inhabitants of the Town purchased all the lands of the Indian Natives, and held and possessed the same for a considerable time without any other title. During this possession they divided off to each Individual Inhabitant such part as reasonably fell to his Lott according to agreement made with the whole, which divisions were usually confirmed by a Vote of the Town Meeting and Entered in the Town Book now in the possession of the Town Clerk.

¹ See Chapters VIII and IX.

"That beside the Grants to Individuals, the Inhabitants of the Town—reserved to themselves for certain public purposes—In the first place, Large, Extensive Roads without any precise dimensions to the same, varying according to local circumstances, in many cases arising from the broken situation of the ground, and often exceeding the Eight Rods in width. In the Secõnd Place—Large pieces of ground for sundry public purposes, such as a 'Parsonage,' 'Burying Ground,' 'Training place,' 'a Market place,' and a 'Watering place,' and in fact all the lands not particularly and specifically given to some Individual were reserved to the use of the Town. After this occupation and possession of the Lands for a considerable time by the Inhabitants of the Town, the eastern Proprietors set up right to the Lands, and demanded of the Inhabitants a quit Rent for the same.

"This demand was, however, resisted with great spirit by the Inhabitants, who refused to pay the quit rent and they were finally abandoned by the Proprietors. But, notwithstanding this, many of the Inhabitants thought proper to obtain from the Proprietors, Grants or Patents for their lands; And the Inhabitants of the Town in the Year 1695 or 1696 took of the Proprietors a Patent for their Reservation including roads of uncertain dimensions in the name of Certain Trustees.

"The Committee cannot learn that the Proprietors ever granted any Lands adverse to the original division made by the Inhabitants, nor adverse to their Reservations, nor in any way to disturb the Inhabitants in the disposal of their Lands according to the Original plan under the Indian purchases; but only granted Patents for the confirmation of the original lots as previously sett off and allotted to each Individual. [The committee was in error

here for, as has been shown in early chapters of this work, there was turmoil for generations over the Lords' and the people's claims to some of the land.]

"That on the before-mentioned Public Lands and Roads so as aforesaid reserved by the Inhabitants and confirmed by the Patent of the Proprietors, Individuals have been constantly making Encroachments.

"The Lands thus encroached upon being Enclosed with the Antient Lotts, it is in many cases difficult to ascertain the ancient boundaries, the Land Marks being in many cases destroyed or removed.

"But many Encroachments are so recent as to be Easily ascertained, and the Land Marks precisely traced, described and ascertained—Especially where Encroachments have been made on Public Lands, and in many cases on Public Roads.

"The Committee think that the encroachments on and about the Antient Watering Place are wanton and without a shadow of Right, that some of the Trespassers, Emboldened by the remissness of the Inhabitants openly avow their intentions to maintain and defend not only their former Encroachments; but threaten to fence in the whole of the Public Lands and set the Town at Defiance.

"It is with pain the Committee observe that the many and Enlightened policy of our Ancestors in providing Lands for Public uses and Capacious streets, at once calculated to preserve the Health of the people, and to adorn, beautify, and render commodious the Town, has been greatly circumscribed by the narrow and selfish dispositions of some of their Descendants and the shameless Avarice of more modern Settlers."

This well-written document—a precious evidence of the early stirring of what we now call civic pride, while revealing the fact that the all-too-human lust for personal gain at the expense of the common good was then abroad—was signed by the members of the committee, who were: Caleb Camp, Samuel Hayes, William S. Pennington and Stephen Fordham.

How much was accomplished by this crusade we shall probably never know. It took many years to adjust the curb lines, and the end is not yet. There is, oddly enough, at least one tangible evidence of where public ground set apart for one common use was a century or so ago permitted to become larger at the expense of another section, also public, but dedicated to different uses. It is significant that, when a Newark map was made in 1838, the

encroachment of Military Park upon Broad street was clearly defined. One can make out the original western boundary line of the park on the map, and easily enough realize that the sidewalk space as it is to-day (1913) was originally a part of the street, and that the park of to-day is wider by the width of the sidewalk than it ought to be, if we are to follow the original measurements of the founders of Newark. However, ideas of civic betterment have changed since then, and we, most of us, are thankful, indeed, that the slender patch of earth on the Western edge of Military Park was taken out of the street in the early 1800's or before. Every square foot of ground in that park is precious to-day.

The stage coaches played sad havoc with Broad street. They wore great ridges and gullies in the soft earth, and when the storms came the thoroughfare was little short of impassable.

BROAD STREET A MUDHOLE, 1832.

"Many a time and oft," says a writer in the Centinel for December 18, 1832, "have I witnessed some luckless wight of a pedestrian risk his precious life, and e'en my own has been sorely jeopardied in a vain attempt to ford Broad street in a storm. One might as well attempt to swim the Black Sea or cross the Mississippi on a streak of lightning. Not that the water is so very deep or the current so very strong; but there is mud—mud so deep and flexible—a liquid paradise for city scavengers, alias swine, to luxuriate in—said to be the best place in the world for a grazing park. And I do think our worthy town authorities show a becoming disposition to reap the full advantages of it. Now, after the present stock of pork is fully gathered in, I should recommend that a subscription be set on foot to raise money for paving some of the principal streets, say, Broad street, from the half-way house to Elizabethtown, and Market street, from the river to Orange. There need be no want of paving stones, for there are shells enough in Market street alone for the purpose."

There were a number of oyster saloons on Market street at that time and the proprietors dumped the shells in the street.

Indeed, all storekeepers and other residents had, in those days, not the slightest compunction to disposing of their refuse in this fashion.

The pigs wandered apparently at will about the streets of the town and Military and Washington Parks were their favorite rooting ground. In 1833 a writer to the Centinel complains of the habit "of some citizens of letting their horses loose in the public streets at night, and on the Sabbath, by which means our sidewalks are often obstructed and children in danger."

A RETURNED NEWARKER'S LAMENT, 1834.

No enactment by the Town Committee, nor any high-minded appeal by a group of its really public-spirited citizens could eradicate the spirit of personal greed from some of the townspeople—which applies quite forcefully to all communities of human beings on the face of the earth. "After an absence of fifteen years," wrote someone to the Daily Advertiser, in May, 1834, "I am again in my native town. On reviewing the place and comparing it to what it was when I left it, I feel emotions both of joy and sorrow arising in my breast. The numerous streets, spires and wharves, proclaim that the population and commerce have spread further and wider, and the hum of business declares that the march of improvement has not yet ceased. Among the most prominent features of improvement which I notice are the canal, a number of churches, splendid rows of brick stores and dwellings, a railroad being constructed, a daily newspaper and a semi-daily communication by land and water with New York; all of which have arisen since I was an inhabitant of Newark.

"Yet with all these I do not feel so much gratified as if I had found it in the same condition as I left it. To be sure, there stands the same church and there runs the same river, but yet I cannot realize it as my home. The time was when I could call every inhabitant of the town by name, but now I can walk half a mile in the principal street and every face I meet is a stranger.

"Like the great city, it has its haunts of dissipation which have served in a great measure to destroy that innocence and simple beauty which once characterized it.



BROAD STREET, LOOKING SOUTH FROM MARKET, ABOUT 1825
From an old copper plate

"I have now been here a month, which is long enough to observe the distinguishing traits of character of any town's inhabitants, and although I feel a reluctance to do it, I must say there is a want of public spirit in it. I do not mean a want of enterprise, but there is not enough of care for the general appearance and condition of the town except as far as individual interest is concerned.

"Many opportunities offer for beautifying and improving the appearance of the place which are slighted. The condition of the roads is bad, the public houses are not of that class which might be expected and numerous other matters of a public nature are not satisfactorily attended to.

"The only way of accounting for this, that I know, is by reckoning the majority of business men as natives of other towns. I have been a resident of several different towns during my absence and have uniformly noticed a degree of public spirit exceeding that of Newark in proportion to their different sizes and number of inhabitants. But it is to be hoped that this will not always be the case, but that some men of influence may yet arise who will sacrifice a little for the general welfare and hold a reflection of disgrace on the appearance of their town in the same light as on themselves.

"S. F."

THE FIRST PAVEMENTS.

The sidewalks in the principal streets of Newark were laid down many years before street paving was done. Broad street and Market as well had flagstone sidewalks as early as 1820. It was proposed to pave Broad street, from the apex of Military Park for several blocks southward, as early as 1833, but this was not done. The first street pavement of which there is any record was laid in 1853, in Academy street, from Broad street to Plane. Broad street, from Clinton avenue to Clay street, and Market street, from the Market street plaza, in front of the Pennsylvania Railroad station, were paved the same year or a little later. There is a tradition that Broad street was paved with planks, originally, but no definite record of this is to be found. Another old story is that Park place, from the apex of Military Park to what is now Saybrook place, was paved with broad, flat stones, in the 1840's or thereabouts, but there is nothing in the old records to substantiate this.

The visit of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, in 1852, (which is described in one of the chapters devoted to the Germans

in Newark) may have helped on the street paving crusade. Broad street was nothing but mud and water, and Kossuth had to be transported in a stone boat, drawn by horses.

The first sewer in the city was the one discharging at Ballantine's brewery and running up Rector street.

NUMBERING THE STREETS, 1834.

The first numbering of Newark streets occurred in 1834. This innovation is chronicled in the Newark Daily Advertiser for April 9, 1834, as follows: "We learn with pleasure, as we have no doubt our citizens generally will, that Mr. Jonathan Reynolds of Halsey street proposes on Monday to enter upon the task of numbering the houses of the town. The town is now so large"—it had about 17,000 inhabitants—"that it would be a great convenience to have a number on every house. The cost would not be over 10 cents a number." These street numbers were in use by June of the same year. The numbers on Broad street began at Clay street and continued to what is now South Park. Later, as the town grew, a new numbering was made, which, so far as Broad street is concerned, is the present system. As for the streets other than Market and Broad, they were numbered as the need for it occurred.

Many of Newark's most important streets were nothing but lanes when the city charter was granted in 1836. Mulberry street, known from the times of the settlers, almost, as the "East Back street," got its present name somewhere about 1800, when the town was much aroused over the possibilities of silkworm culture, and when many mulberry trees were set out. Fair street was so called as early as 1800. Hill street got its name about the same time, being previously known as "Hockabony lane." Walnut street was known as such as early as 1797. Orange street does not seem to have been commonly called by that name much before 1809. New street was so known in 1808. Washington street, the original "West Back street," had its present name in 1807, possibly earlier. A part of Halsey street has had its present name since 1808.

In 1838 what is now known as East Park street was Smith

street, to Mulberry street. From the latter street to Cherry street it was known as Park place. At that time, also, South Park was triangular in shape as now, but the width at the base of the triangle, along Clinton avenue, was only about half the width to Halsey street. Marshall street was then Wheeler's alley. Halsey street then started from Washington Park and stopped at Academy. It was not opened to Market street until about 1871. From Market street what is now Halsey street, running south, of course, was then (1838) Harrison street. From what is now Clinton avenue, but was in 1838 West Broad street, the present Halsey street was Church street for a considerable distance northward. Central avenue was cut through to Broad street from Washington about 1867. The present Belleville avenue was the original road northward to what is now Belleville and beyond. North Broad street was built, from the Belleville avenue junction to Clark street (then Parker), a short time prior to 1855; from Clark street half-way between Gouverneur, in 1857; from there to Harvey street in 1868.

REMINISCENCES OF CENTRE STREET.

Centre street was once little more than a ditch for carrying off surface water from Military Park, if we are to believe the late William C. Wallace, who, in 1889, set down his reminiscences of the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century. He wrote:

"We were not cultivated then up to the name of parks. We had the upper [Washington Park] and lower [Military Park] Commons, and I have seen them pastured with cows and sheep, and sometimes the swine tribe would be seen cultivating them with their natural ploughshares. The southern Common [Military Park] after rain was almost entirely inundated, its level being so much lower than the surrounding grounds. Centre street level was much higher, and yet this seemed to be the only proper direction to conduct the water down to the river. To free the town from this and other occasional overflows, interested one gentleman very much, and I have often seen him with hoe in hand, especially after rains, going about and examining the levels by the water, and by this kind of survey determining approximately by which course the water should be carried off."

It appears, although Mr. Wallace does not make it entirely clear, that Centre street was actually cut through the bluff-top to permit the water to flow into the river:

"At length Colonel Hassler (I think his name was), appointed by Government to make the coast survey, made an encampment and headquarters in one of the brick houses at the head of the Town Common with a corps of young men, and an ark of a carriage capable of containing all their surveying tools. * * * I do not know by whom or at whose expense the excavations and work were afterward done, but as a boy and young man I witnessed much of the above."

OPENING OF THE MORRIS CANAL, 1832.

The Morris Canal was a powerful factor in promoting Newark's prosperity and in stimulating street and road development. The agitation for its construction began in the early 1820's. In 1824 the Legislature authorized the building of the canal from the Delaware, near Easton, to the Passaic, near the present city of that name. The canal company was empowered to raise \$1,000,000 in capital stock and to increase this by half a million, if this sum should be found necessary to complete the work. In 1828 the canal company was authorized to extend the canal to Jersey City. The enterprise was not fully financed until 1830, when a loan of \$5,200,000 was assured from capitalists in Holland. This sum offered was more than five times that asked for. As a consequence, the canal stock immediately jumped to eighty-five points above par. The "ditch" was completed from the Delaware to Newark (the route as it approached this section having been diverted from the Acquackanonk region) in 1832, and immediately put in operation. One of the great problems in connection with the enterprise was whether canal locks or an inclined plane should be used for high grades. George P. McCulloch, of Morristown, is understood to have been the originator of the inclined plane idea. "Such planes," said one writer of the time, "had never before been applied to boats of such magnitude, nor an operation so extensive."

The actual cost of the canal, from Philipsburg to Newark, was about \$2,000,000, instead of \$817,000, as originally esti-

mated. The cost of construction from Newark to Jersey City was figured at \$100,000, but this proved very much too low. This last section was not put into commission until 1836, the year the city charter was granted. The total length of the canal is one hundred and one miles, over a circuitous route. It has a total rise and fall of 1,674 feet.

"The first boat to reach tide waters," says Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, "was the 'Walk in the Water,' with a consignment to Stephens & Condit. This was on the 19th or 20th day of May, 1832. The arrival of two canal boats from Mauch Chunk, laden with Lehigh coal, was hailed with pleasure by the Newark newspapers, and the announcement was made that fifteen or twenty more boats laden with coal were on their way. The citizens were recommended, as a measure of prudence and economy, to "provide themselves with this indispensable article at an early period and not defer it till setting in of the winter." From fifteen to twenty boats arrived daily with coal, wood, iron ore and country produce, and carrying back merchandise, raw materials and other articles used in manufacturing establishments on the line of the canal, causing a brisk business during the spring and summer. The advantages to Newark and the whole country through which the canal passed were already manifest in the activity and enterprise which everywhere pervaded it—in the reduction in the price of fuel and other necessities of life, and in the great increase in the value of real estate along the borders of the canal."

This waterway continued of the highest use to the Newark neighborhood for a full generation after its opening, although, toward the end of that period the railroads had begun to rob it of its supremacy as a coal and general freight-carrying utility. The canal really made the burning of hard coal a possibility here (the way to produce combustion having been perfected). William C. Wallace in his reminiscences, written in 1889, said:

THE COMING OF HARD COAL.

"In the early part of the 'last' century, Newark was odorous with turf smoke, there being turf meadows with their drying

houses near Newark, convenient to the Camptown (now Irvington) road, and to those who owned turf lots, this was the cheapest fuel, wood lots being owned very generally by householders and managed with economy. Previous to the discovery of the anthracite coal mines in Pennsylvania, there was great anxiety among thoughtful men about fuel—how long the forests convenient to Newark would last—and they began to calculate and to consider what was to be done. I have heard the question agitated among old gentlemen around my father's fireside of blazing hickory, what was to be done when their wood lots around Newark were exhausted. * * *

"But for years" after the discovery of anthracite "there was no more benefit derived than from black stones, as there was no known method by which combustion could be produced. The fireplaces, grates and stoves then in use could make no impression because their drafts were insufficient. Scientific analysis pointed out the valuable qualities, but the Philadelphia owners of the mines, by persuasion and rewards, summoned all the ingenuity of the country for contrivances to make draft sufficient to produce combustion. Contracted chimney throats and grate blowers date from that period. Previous to this entry stoves and furnaces were unknown; hence the reason why fine houses had low ceilings—more easily warmed." * * *

Canal boats for passenger service were for a long time in use. There was a packet boat in the 1830's, the "Maria Colden," that made daily trips (Sundays excepted) between Newark and Passaic. The fare each way was fifty cents, and between Newark and Bloomfield twenty-five. It was a favorite trip for excursionists.

During the year ending with September 13, 1834, 20,000 tons of merchandise were moved over the canal in 1,085 boatloads.

FROM PERIAUGER TO STEAMBOAT.

The settlers made good use of Newark's water transportation facilities to and from New York, and the periaugers dotted the Passaic, Newark Bay and the Arthur Kill in all but the most inclement weather for upwards of a hundred and fifty years. They gave way in the first two or three decades of the last century to the steamboats, and these, in turn, grew gradually fewer in number as the railroads thrived. For upwards of three-quarters of a century, from their establishment in New Jersey until almost the very opening of the present century, the railroads seemed to sys-

tematically discourage water traffic in this region. Then, finding that they had more business than they could handle with celerity, this attitude of opposition began to disappear.

As early as 1818, Messrs. Stephens, Condit and Cox set up a line of freight boats, consisting of sloops and schooners. There were extensive shipyards at Belleville and on the opposite bank further up-stream. As early as 1798, a steamboat sixty feet long and equipped with an engine of twenty-inch cylinder and two-foot stroke, and called the "Polacca," is believed to have been constructed at Belleville. On October 21 of that same year this craft started on her trial trip upon the Passaic, but it was not a success. Thus ended her brief history, several years before Robert Fulton's "Clermont" astounded the dwellers along the Hudson. The inventor and constructor of this half-mythical "Polacca" is said to have been a man of the name of Roosevelt, but the traditions of Belleville refuse to give forth this Roosevelt's christened name or his family connections.

The first passenger steamboat to run regularly from Newark to New York was the "Newark," in the early 1830's. This and subsequent boats made Sunday trips, for many years before the railroads gave such service, and the vessels did a most extensive business on that day of the week. The steamboat "Passaic" was in commission as early as 1836, and is said to have carried as many as 3,500 persons to New York or Coney Island in the 1840's, in one day. The "May Queen" ran between Newark and New York from 1855 to 1858, as an excursion boat to New York and to Coney Island. One of the early passenger boats was the "Olive Branch" running between Newark and New York for one season, that of 1838. There followed a long succession of steam passenger boats running from Belleville and Newark to New York.

THE WHALERS, 1837.

Newark was made a port of entry in 1834. About 1836 warehouses for the reception of sperm oil and whalebone were built near the Centre street docks, and casks for the storing of the oil

were made there by the Stephens, Condit & Wright Whaling and Sealing Company. This company fitted out, at the docks just mentioned, the ships "John Wells" and the "Columbus" as first-class whalers. Each carried a crew of about thirty. They started on their first cruise in the summer of 1837, rounded Cape Horn and were quite successful, in the Pacific. But their skippers were not altogether satisfied and they fared northward into the Arctic ocean. There the "Columbus" was wrecked and her crew transferred to the "John Wells," which reached the dock in Newark twenty-three months from the time she started out, and with three thousand barrels of oil and a large quantity of whalebone. The "John Wells" made three subsequent voyages to Arctic waters. This seems to have been the end of Newark's whaling industry.

One of the members of the "John Wells" crew was a boy, Michael Nerney, who later became a New Jersey pilot of marked efficiency. He was one of the very first to realize the great need of lighthouses in Newark Bay and at Bergen Point. He aroused public sentiment. He called upon a Congressman from Jersey City, Dudley S. Gregory, for assistance, and in 1847 money was appropriated for the erection of the two lighthouses at the points just mentioned. Both houses were lighted for the first time on September 20, 1849. Captain Nerney was made keeper for the Newark Bay light, and held that post for twenty-one years. He kept a record of the vessels that passed his light and found that as many as three hundred sometimes passed in a single day.

In April, 1862, the Stephens & Condit Transportation Company was organized, out of the original concern, absorbing the Thomas V. Johnson towing and freighting line, which for years had done business at Commercial Dock. At the time this new company was established its steamboats were the "Thomas P. Way," "Chicopee" and "Jamaica." It afterwards added the "Maryland," "Jonas C. Heartt," "Maria" and "Magenta." The last mentioned, with the "Thomas P. Way" and the "Maryland," were chartered by the Federal Government during the Civil War for the transportation of troops. The last two were practically rebuilt afterwards

and remained in commission until near the close of the last century. The "Thomas P. Way" was burned, July 20, 1888. The "Magenta" was finally converted into a ferry boat.

NEWARK COMMERCE IN 1833.

"The commerce of Newark," said Gordon's Gazeteer in 1833, "already considerable, rapidly increases. It employs 65 vessels, averaging 100 tons, in the coasting trade; eight or nine of which are constantly engaged in transporting hither various building materials. The Morris Canal, which runs through the town, gives it many advantages for internal trade, for which twenty-five canal boats are supplied by the inhabitants. The facilities for communication with New York render the town a suburb of that great city. A steamboat plies twice a day between the two places, carrying an average of 75 passengers each trip, each way; two lines of stages communicate between them almost hourly, conveying at least 800 passengers a week; and the communication will be still more frequent and facile when the New Jersey Railroad, now rapidly progressing, shall have been completed. The directors have not only run the railroad through part of the town, but have opened a splendid avenue of 120 feet wide, by its side [the present New Jersey Railroad avenue], and propose to cross the Passaic River about the centre of the town, upon a wooden bridge on stone abutments, which will give an additional trait of beauty to the place." The avenue, by the way, had a highly stimulating influence upon real estate in its neighborhood. New streets were opened rapidly.

A BURYING GROUND EPISODE.

In 1828 the Township of Newark, after long deliberation, bought a plot of nearly nine acres east of New Jersey Railroad avenue and south of Ferry street, for a "New Burying Place," to be used in place of the Old Burying Ground, which it had been decided in 1826 must no longer be used for the interment of bodies. The sum of \$641.27 was paid for the new cemetery property, but it speedily became too valuable for burial purposes, as the building

of the railroad proceeded, and was cut up into building lots in 1835, and sold. Very few interments were made there. In the early 1830's the town of Newark was indicted for maintaining a nuisance in the Old Burying Ground, and steps had to be taken to draw off the water that continually gathered there. Little regard for the tombs of the town's founders was shown in those days, and it is not altogether pleasant to note that when a new burying ground was necessary a plot of low, cheap land, below the present Pennsylvania Railroad, was purchased.

NEWARK'S FIRST RAILROAD.

The first railroad to enter Newark was that of the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company. It received its charter on March 7, 1832, from the New Jersey Legislature, and the act of incorporation permitted it to issue capital stock to the amount of \$775,000, with liberty to double that amount. The books for stock subscriptions were opened for three days, the first day at New Brunswick, the second at Elizabeth and the third at Newark. It was at first proposed to cross the river "contiguous to" the Bridge street bridge, but the bridge company was hostile, and would not make any arrangement whatsoever with the railroad. The railroad company's first officers, General John S. Darcy, of Morris County, president, and John P. Jackson, of Newark, secretary, were chosen here in Newark on March 22, 1832. When the three days for stock subscription were over it was found that a considerable surplus had been taken, and that the subscribers were almost wholly Jerseymen. Thus was the railroad out of which the present Pennsylvania was to be partly built, inaugurated.

¹ "Work was immediately commenced. The roadbed was laid across the meadows, bridges were built across the Passaic and Hackensack, and in two years, or, on September 1, 1834, an excursion was made over the road in the passenger car 'Washington,' described by a chronicler of the period as 'a splendid and beautiful specimen of workmanship, containing three apartments besides seats on top.' Regular trips were commenced on September 15,

¹ Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, vol. 1, p. 194.

1834. The cars were operated with horse power, making eight trips each way, leaving either terminus at 7, 8, 9 and 11 o'clock a. m.; 1, 2, 3 and 5 o'clock p. m.; starting from the ferry at Jersey City, and from Thomson's Hotel, Newark (situated on the site of the present City Hall—1884), stopping 'for the purpose of delivering and receiving passengers' as the advertisements of the day read, at Chandler's Hotel, on Broad street, opposite Mechanic street; at Dickerson's Hotel at the foot of Market street; at the west end of the bridge over the Passaic (Centre street); at the Hackensack Bridge, and at the Paterson Depot (at what is now known as Marion). The fare each way was 37½ cents, and the trip was made to Jersey City in about half an hour.

"It was not then deemed safe to use locomotives on the embankments extending over the marshes, and not until the embankments were thoroughly settled was steam power considered secure upon them. The first engine passed over the road, from Jersey City to Newark, on December 2, 1835. It was named the 'Newark.'

"Up to January, 1838, when the Bergen Cut was completed, the cars were drawn over the hill by horse power. This cut was a heavy undertaking, and involved an immense outlay of money for the time. * * * The road was extended to Elizabethtown in 1835, to Rahway in 1836, and, in the report of the directors for the year 1837, it is stated that the distance from the Raritan to the Passaic (22¼ miles) was completed 'with a single line of rails and an adequate number of turnouts, upon the most approved mode of structure, with heavy upright iron rails. On the whole of this distance a locomotive engine has been used since the middle of last July, making three trips a day.' On January 1, 1839, the road was opened through to Philadelphia, and thus direct communication was established between that city and New York. Previous to this the line of travel was by means of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, steamboats connecting New York with the terminus of that company at South Amboy, involving a water passage of twenty-seven miles.

"The original cost of the road, with each item separately enumerated under oath, in 1839, was \$1,951,638.34. It was not long before the company availed itself of the authority given it in the charter, to purchase the stock and franchises of the bridge and turnpike companies, which cost the company about \$300,000. The ferry franchises in Jersey City were bought in 1853, and large sums were expended in improving the terminal facilities.

"In 1856, the company projected a more direct route between East Newark and the Market street depot, by bridging the Passaic at Commercial Dock." This is the site of the present bridge of the Pennsylvania main line. "The project was bitterly opposed by the navigation interests." The matter was taken to the courts, and it


was not until 1862 that the railroad company got a decision in its favor from the United States Supreme Court. In 1867 the New Jersey Railroad Company and the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company were consolidated, and were merged with the United Railroad and Canal Company. On December 21, 1871, a lease was consummated whereby the Pennsylvania Railroad Company got control of the railway and canal of the joint companies just mentioned, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years.

In 1838 a map of Newark was made for the city authorities, in two sections, one showing everything east of the west side of Broad street from a little above Bridge street, and the other the section west of the line just mentioned. Unfortunately, only the first-mentioned section is preserved in the city archives, in the Municipal Library, and that in a state of sad dilapidation, due to carelessness on the part of city employees of a previous generation. This map shows the tracks of the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company, from the point where they crossed the original Centre street bridge, proceeding down what is now River street, and through Market street plaza, from whence a branch ran up Market street, down Broad and all the way south on that thoroughfare to Thomas street. Beside the stopping points on Broad street mentioned in a preceding paragraph (and which are not indicated on the map), it is understood that the locomotive and cars often hauled up for the night in William street, just off Broad, and at other times were simply left on the tracks further down Broad street. An old resident wrote many years ago, that for a time after the railroad was introduced gangs of apprentices would sometimes push the car, or cars, from their nocturnal resting place up to Market, and then let them proceed downward, "by the force of rum and gravity." During the first week 2,026 passengers were carried to and from Newark and New York; second week, 2,548.

The main line of the New Jersey Railroad Company continued on beyond Market street plaza upon the "splendid avenue," New Jersey Railroad avenue, mentioned by Gordon in his *Gazeteer* as quoted on a preceding page of this chapter.

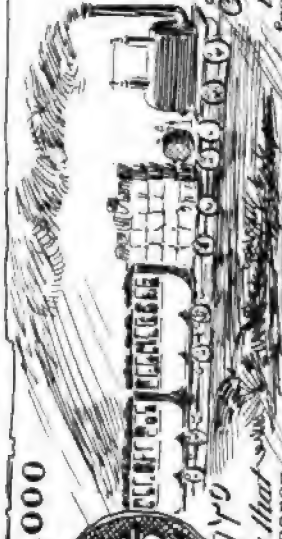
The old map of 1838 shows a line of track running up Broad street all the way to the top of the map, making a continuous line

12 1/2



CENT'S


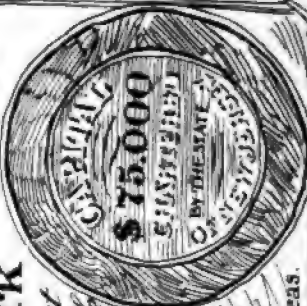
PAID IN \$55.000



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12 1/2

REAL ESTATE SECURITY

This Certifies that the Bearer

Mechanics' Hall Association of Newark

The sum of TWELVE & A HALF CENTS with interest at the rate of one percent per annum payable Dec. 1st 1830 convertible into the Bond of the company bearing an interest of six per cent. in sums of 500 DOLLARS. Secured by MORTGAGES as authorized by Charter

CITY OF NEWARK October 5th 1837.

Ed. Newark Secy. Callahan **Treas.**

OLD NEWARK SCRIPT

Showing railroad train of 1830, such as moved up and down Broad Street from the present Division Street as far south as Thomas Street

from the terminus, at Division street, where it connected with the Morris and Essex Railroad, to Thomas street. There was also a line of track running from Broad street, at what is now Central avenue, through Park place at the upper end of the park and down Centre street to the Centre street bridge. For many years after the opening of the Morris and Essex its cars were hauled down Broad street from Division street to the Centre street bridge by horses. It is believed that the railroad line on Broad street was used for the delivery of freight, the cars being hauled up and down by horses, and the merchants receiving their goods from the cars in front of their store doors.

THE MORRIS AND ESSEX, 1835.

A meeting for the organization of the Morris and Essex Railroad Company was held in Newark on January 14, 1835, the prime movers in the enterprise being a number of influential residents of Morristown. It was then voted that a Newark committee co-operate in the venture with that of Morristown. The railroad's charter, obtained from the Legislature at the close of that same month of January, provided for \$300,000 capital stock, with authority to increase this to \$500,000. The books for the subscription of stock were opened on March 9 at Morristown, March 10 at Elizabethtown and on March 11 at Newark. On March 23 the stockholders organized the company at Chatham.

Early in 1855 the New Jersey Railroad Company completed a branch road from its line in what is now Harrison, and a bridge across the Passaic, perfecting a steam railroad connection with the Morris and Essex, whose eastern terminus was then on the Newark side of the river. A charter was obtained by the Hoboken Land and Improvement Company in 1860 for a railroad connecting Newark with Hoboken, and which was completed on November 19, 1862. This was leased to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad in 1868, at the same time that the Lackawanna obtained control of the Morris and Essex. The Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, now the so-called Montclair branch of the Morris and Essex,

was opened, from what is now the Roseville junction, to Montclair, on July 1, 1856. It was at once leased to the Morris and Essex. The so-called Boonton branch of the Morris and Essex was put in commission on May 12, 1877.

"The crew of the first train was made up of Benjamin Myer, conductor; William Pierson, brakeman; Henry L. Brown, engineman; John Osborn, fireman, and A. O. Crane, wood passer. As late as 1892 three of these pioneers were living, viz.: Conductor Myer; Engineman Brown, who resided on a farm in New York, and Wood Passer Crane, to whom credit for much of the data contained in this article is due. Mr. Myer became a merchant in Newark and died in 1892.

"Mr. Crane, who died in Hoboken several years ago, was a close personal friend and life-long admirer of Seth Boyden, and builder of the road's first locomotive 'Orange.' In those days the name of the inventor occupied a position in mechanical and scientific circles similar to that held by Thomas A. Edison at present. On one of the trial trips between Newark and Madison, previous to the opening of the line to Morristown, Boyden himself acted as engineer. This trip, it is recalled, was not in many essentials a successful one, as when the engine arrived at Bathgate's lane, near the site of the present Roseville Avenue Station, the thin copper steam pipe which led to the boiler flattened out, rendering further progress impossible. This was but one of many similar incidents that occurred during these pioneer days.

"As this was many years previous to the extension of the line to Hoboken, a connection was established with the New Jersey Railroad & Transportation Company at their Centre Street Station, the Morris & Essex cars being hauled by horses over tracks laid down Broad and Centre streets, where they were attached to the regular trains of the New Jersey Railroad for Jersey City. When the original two passenger coaches arrived at Newark, a trial trip was made down Broad street with the 'Orange' as a 'pusher.' On the return trip both cars left the rail opposite Lombardy street and two spectators were instantly killed. This was unquestionably the first casualty in the history of the company and created considerable talk and unfavorable comment at a time when stage coach interests were supreme and anxious to discredit the new method of transportation.

"The seats in the original passenger cars were arranged horizontally around the interior so that passengers faced each other. They were of rough lumber entirely devoid of upholstery. The cars when in motion had a tendency to sway forward and backward, and when passing over imperfect tracks the sensation produced was

somewhat similar to attempting to manipulate a rocking-chair on a log pile.

"The freight cars were similar in construction to the modern flat car, but less than half their length. Merchandise was protected from the elements by large sheets of canvas attached to the side of the car by means of hooks. Frequently in passing over the line the motion of the train would cause the load to shift on the car and oftentimes roll down an embankment when it was a case of stopping the train and reloading before proceeding. * * * Owing to the limited number of freight cars, it was often found necessary to drop the rear car of the train at some station along the line, where it would be unloaded and the empty car picked up by the train on its return trip." (From "The Railroad Employee" for June, 1913.)

THE ERIE AND THE CENTRAL.

The Paterson-Newark Branch of the Erie Railroad was opened in 1868 by the Paterson, Newark and New York Railroad Company, and was leased to the Erie. The New York and Greenwood Lake Railway was constructed in the 1870's, originally as the Montclair Railway, but had many tribulations, being sold at foreclosure sale to the Erie.

While the Central Railroad of New Jersey was chartered in 1831, its Newark and New York branch was not chartered until March 1, 1866, and it did not go into active operation until 1869. The branch road between Newark and Elizabethport was opened in 1872.²

The Newark Branch was opened during the summer of 1869,

² Early in 1912, railroad conditions in Newark were briefly summarized by the Newark Board of Trade, as follows:

Trunk Line Roads: Pennsylvania, Lehigh Valley, Lackawanna, Erie and Reading (N. J. Central).

Passenger trains daily to and from Newark.....	846
Freight trains daily to and from Newark.....	254
Number of passenger stations.....	12
Passenger movement to and from city annually.....	12,861,420
Number of freight delivery yards.....	14
Number of cars of merchandise freight, including coal, received and shipped annually.....	285,610
Total railway tonnage delivered	3,670,738
Total railway tonnage shipped	1,047,489
Aggregate total tonnage of freight received and shipped.....	4,718,227
Electric Railways—Hudson and Manhattan Tubes, 18 minutes New York.	

under the name of the Newark and New York Railroad, and was intended at first to be exclusively for passenger service. The line was double-tracked from Broad street, the Newark terminus, to West Side avenue, Jersey City, and single-tracked over the heights and down to Arlington avenue. A tower on the top gave the signal for the trains approaching either way. Several years after the Bergen Cut eliminated the hill.

The Newark Branch was opened formally July 23, 1869. The trains, of ten coaches each, left every hour from 10:10 A. M. to 4:35 P. M., from the Broad Street Station, packed with passengers, who were all carried free. Broad street was lined with wagons and carriages and the station, considered then a magnificent structure, was packed with curious onlookers, many of whom feared to ride because of the "hazardous" rate of speed. Twenty-five minutes was the time of the trip, and within three months a petition was drawn up by the commuters asking for a reduction in the rate of speed. The road opened for regular traffic August 2, 1869, and it soon began to transport freight in large quantities.

Captain Benjamin W. Hopper, an officer in the Civil War, who entered the service of the Central, October 1, 1865, when Josiah O. Stearns was general superintendent, sold tickets from a box car at the foot of Liberty street, New York, before the old station was built, and in 1869 was appointed general agent at Newark. He remained in the service of the road for forty and a half years. He was a genius at railroading. During the blizzard of 1888 he kept traffic open between New York and Newark, a feat of considerable importance.

NEWARK'S FIRST HORSE CARS, 1862.

The first horse cars in Newark, if we put aside the early period already described when the railroad companies hauled their trains into and out of Newark, were run by the Orange and Newark Horse-Car Railroad Company. It obtained a charter in 1859.³ "The enterprise was urged with great zeal by the people of Orange, who

³ Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, vol. 1, p. 203.

had been in constant turmoil for years with the Morris and Essex Railroad Company, owing to a lack of facilities to reach New York. The project slumbered for a year or two, partly owing to an effort * * * to procure an injunction restraining the horse car company from laying its tracks in Market street, Newark. This case was decided in favor of the Company in December, 1860. The excitement then prevailing throughout the country arising from the secession movement in the South, and the prospect of war, delayed the enterprise, and it was not until the fall of 1861 that measures were adopted looking to the speedy building of the road. The first track was laid through Market street from the depot to Roseville in the early spring of 1862, and on May 23 a trial trip was made over the whole length of the road to Orange. Regular trips were run on June 6, and on the succeeding Fourth of July the Broad street line, from Market to Orange street, was operated. The first organization of the company in 1860 was as follows: William Pierson, M. D., (then for the first time Mayor of Orange), president; John C. Denman, vice-president; Nehemiah Perry, treasurer; Martin R. Dennis, secretary. Directors—William Pierson, Lowell Mason, Jr., James Trippe, Ira M. Harrison, Nehemiah Perry, Martin R. Dennis, John C. Denman, John P. Jackson and Henry R. Remsen."

The road was for some time controlled by the United Railroad Company, and subsequently by the Pennsylvania. In 1883 the Orange-Newark road was purchased by a group of capitalists and run in connection with the Irvington and Bloomfield lines, which they then owned.

This, Newark's pioneer horse car company, owned and operated in 1884 the routes traversed by the Broad street cars from the stables in Clinton avenue up Broad street and Belleville avenue to Mt. Pleasant Cemetery, where transfer was made to smaller cars running up Washington avenue to the North Newark station of the Greenwood Lake Railway; the Roseville line, from Ferry street, through Bowery, Market, Bank and Warren streets to Roseville; the Orange cars, from the Market street station through Market, Bank and Warren streets to Main street, East Orange, and thence

up Main street to stables in Lincoln avenue. The first horse cars on the historic "old Ferry road," or Ferry street, ran in July, 1880.

THE FIRST SUNDAY CARS.

In 1869 it was proposed to run horse cars on Sunday and there was a loud protest against it. On June 1, 1869, an election was held and the vote was in favor of Sunday cars. But, strange to tell, the several car companies were not at all eager to furnish Sunday service, and although the Common Council on August 6 of the same year passed a resolution requesting the companies to operate cars on Sunday, it was necessary to adopt similar resolutions the next year, on July 1, and again on August 5, 1870. On the latter date the Common Council also instructed the city counsel to defend all suits brought against any of the companies for alleged violation of law in running Sunday cars. On October 7, 1870, another resolution was passed, requiring—not "requesting" this time—the Newark and Elizabeth Horse Railroad Company to operate on Sunday so much of its road as lay in Newark. The vote in the election of June 1, 1869, was: For Sunday service, 6,486; against, 3,563.

The second horse car line in Newark was that which ran from car barns at Springfield avenue and Wall street, Irvington, down Clinton avenue, into Broad street at South Park and down Market to the Market street station. It was operated by Prospect P. Shaw. It failed to pay expenses. It started in July, 1863, and was abandoned about 1869. The Newark and Irvington Street Railway Company was opened for travel in June, 1867. It gave a Sunday service in 1869.

* "The Newark, Bloomfield and Montclair Horse-Car Railroad Company began running cars in 1870 or 1871. Its lines originally ran up Bloomfield avenue, along Mt. Prospect avenue, north of the old Bloomfield road, and entered Bloomfield by way of Franklin street. The plant was bought at foreclosure sale in January, 1876, by the Newark and Bloomfield Street Railway Company, whose original project was to continue the road to Montclair, and also to extend a road from the northerly termination of Mt. Prospect avenue to Franklin. Neither of these projected roads were ever built.

* Shaw's History of Essex and Hudson Counties, p. 204.

During the winter of 1875 the old route to Bloomfield was abandoned, and in 1876 the new management laid the track as at present directly up Bloomfield avenue."

The Newark and South Orange Horse-Car Railroad Company began to run its cars about the same time the Irvington line on Springfield avenue started. It did not prosper and it was bought by John Radel for \$35,000. The Newark, Harrison and Kearny Horse-Car Company opened its road to the public in July, 1884.

THE COMING OF THE TROLLEY, 1890.

The first electric street railroad in New Jersey was run along Scotland street, Orange, from Central avenue to McChesney street, for several months in 1887. It was an overhead trolley known as the Daft motor type. The first car was publicly operated on Wednesday, April 13, 1887, by Leo Daft, the inventor. The road was a part of the crosstown road afterwards extended to Bloomfield. The Daft trolley road from Newark to Bloomfield was first operated in 1889. It was not successful in Bloomfield avenue.

The first successful trolley cars in Newark were operated by the Consolidated Traction Company, the Springfield avenue line, on October 4, 1890. The then recently organized Rapid Transit Company had applied for a franchise with the intention of running electric cars. The Consolidated Traction Company sought to obtain the same privilege, got it and was first in putting the new equipment in operation. The Rapid Transit Company started its first electric line on October 25, 1890, three weeks after the beginning of the Springfield avenue trolley line. The Rapid Transit's first cars ran up Central avenue to Broad street.

The Kinney street and Washington street electric line, stopping at Market street, and opened by the Rapid Transit Company, was put in commission on November 17, 1890. The connection from Market street, along Washington street to Central avenue, was made a little later. The first electric car run over the Plank road to Jersey City was on April 18, 1894.

When the Rapid Transit Company built its road and operated the first successful trolley cars, in 1890, its cars ran only to Central

avenue and Fourteenth street. But in 1892 it was sold to the Consolidated Traction Company, and thereafter the cars ran through Fourteenth street to Main street and thence to West Orange. Electricity was first used on the South Orange avenue line on February 13, 1893.

The Public Service Corporation of New Jersey was incorporated in the spring of 1903 and began business on June 2, 1903. Concerning its organization President Thomas N. McCarter, in a paper entitled "The Public Service Rate Problem" (1912), has given the following facts:

"While, of course, in a small way, the electric industry was pushing its way forward in the decade between 1880 and 1890, the great development of the industry for purposes of light, power and traction took place in the decade from 1890 to 1900. The latter half of that decade was a period of unexampled prosperity the country over, in all kinds of business. * * * Even the gas business, with its half century of previous life, but theretofore a sleepy kind of business, caught the infection. New uses for gas never before considered quickly made their appearance. The Welsbach burner, extending the efficiency of gas as an illuminant and cheapening its use, helped it to compete with electric light. New and more vigorous methods were adopted by all the companies, enormous sums were spent in extending and developing the plants, the public pulse quickly responded, and the output multiplied by leaps and bounds.

"About 1903 the larger of the street railway systems of the State had become financially embarrassed, and some plan of reorganization was absolutely imperative. The electric properties of the State were in a fair financial condition. Some were sound, some were not. The gas properties were sound, but some had very largely exhausted their capacity for new capital. * * * At this juncture Public Service was formed with \$10,000,000 of full paid cash capital * * * to take over and acquire these various properties, by lease or otherwise.

"During the intervening years some additional properties, other than those at first acquired, have been taken over and the scheme of organization perfected, so that now the entire railway system is either merged into or leased to Public Service Railway Company, a corporation having \$38,000,000 of capital stock, being a somewhat less amount than the total amount of the capital stock of the companies merged into it. Upwards of 99 per cent. of the capital stock of the Public Service Railway Company is owned by Public Service. Public Service Gas Company, by lease or assignment thereof, controls all of the gas properties in any way connected

with Public Service. * * * In like manner the Public Service Electric Company controls, through lease or assignment thereof, all of the electric properties in any way connected with the corporation. * * * Thus it appears that the corporation proper is not an operating company, but only a holding company, owning practically all of the stock of the operating companies and sundry securities of subsidiary companies."

In 1912 Public Service was serving 193 municipalities with one or more classes of public utility, and most of them with all three, electric traction, electric light and gas.

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